THE LODHA AND THEIR SPIRIT-POSSESSED MEN

A PSYCHO-SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY

P. C. RAY

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AND
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PREFACE

This volume is a contribution to one aspect of *Culture and Personality* studies, namely, the socio-cultural influence on personality formation.

In the year 1960, I was asked by Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, in which I am a Psychologist, to find out the causes why and how the *Byakra* (Shaman) or spirit-possessed men among the Lodha pass into trance. Prof. Bose was very much interested as no such investigation had yet been made in this country. It was also necessary, he said, to study their personality structure in detail.

He advised me to contact Dr. Probodh Kumar Bhowmick who worked among the Lodha for a long time and published several papers on their life. After discussion, it was decided that I should work among the Lodha of Kukai who had been rehabilitated and had settled down to agriculture. For a preliminary survey, I visited Kukai with Dr. Bhowmick and remained there for a few days in the house of Shri Prabhas Kumar Midya, a prominent social worker. Shri Midya has been living among the Lodha for a long time and he is generally respected by them. He called the people in his house and explained to them the purpose of my visit. They agreed to help me and then I returned to the headquarters.

As the problem is to find out the causes of trance condition of the spirit-possessed men, I was in a dilemma as to the nature of the data to be collected. In the past, I conducted two *Culture and Personality* investigations but those dealt with culture-contact. Moreover, I did not find any reference relating to our problem in the available anthropological literature. However, after going through 'People of Alore' by Du Bois, I decided to follow the line taken up by Du Bois and Kardiner. In the analysis of the life histories, I have followed the technique developed by the latter.

I returned to the field in the middle of April, 1960 and took my residence in the house of Shri Midya, which is situated in the heart of the village. I first thought of collecting data pertaining to the spirit-possessed men only but as the investigation progressed, it became apparent that information relating to the typical Lodha must be collected in order to differentiate the personality configuration of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha. So data on socio-cultural influences on the personality formation of both the groups were collected.

It may be mentioned that while writing this report, Mr. Martin Ebon, Administrative Secretary, Psychology Foundation Incorporation, New York, wrote a letter to Prof. Bose regarding this investigation, and this gave me much inspiration. He requested Prof. Bose to furnish him the detail of this field work as it develops, because similar investigations were undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. Rose in Australia, New Zealand and Samoa.

I am indebted to Sri M. Das, Research Associate (Publication), and my wife Sm. Sadhana Ray for preparing the index.

INTRODUCTION

A piece of research came into being in America, nearly two decades ago (1). This work is the outcome of such studies, initiated by Kardiner (1) in the year 1937, and, later on, developed both by Kardiner and Du Bois (4) to such an extent, that the technique devised by the former, may be profitably used as a working instrument, for the understanding of personality formation of socialized human beings. This line of research, it appears, has attained a new place in social sciences.

This new approach which has been followed in the investigation, is based on the assumption that, in order to understand the socialized human beings in its proper perspective, and evaluation of socio-cultural influences on their personality formation, is essential. It is believed as well as admirably demonstrated by Kardiner that origin of certain traits appears to be the resulting effects of interaction between the environmental pressures and innate predispositions. So it appears that psycho-biological organism has no personality until it participates in social activities, and in this way, it becomes a person. In other words, personality is the final product of socio-cultural processes, which condition innates predispositions. To put it in a different way, it may be said that personality is the outcome of institutionalized practices, namely, paternal care, childhood trainings, permissive or restrictive disciplines, induction of affectivity and so on, on human beings as it develops, and so, the resulting socio-biological interaction acts as a deciding factor, in bringing about the development of ego structure in any phase of adaptation, though childhood may be considered as the crucial stage in the personality formation. This investigation is based on the premises, laid down by Kardiner and Du Bois.

The problem of this research, which was conducted among the Lodha of Kukai from the middle of April, 1960 and lasted for about four months, is to attempt an evaluation of socio-cultural influences on the personality formation of the Lodha and their spirit-possessed men, because this is essential to differentiate the personality structure of the typical Lodha from that of the spirit-possessed men, in order to find out the causes, underlying the transformation of the latter as spirit-possessed men.

So, in planning this research which includes the contributions of anthropology, psycho-dynamics and projective psychology, the author worked on the following lines :

1. To assess the influence of socio-cultural factors, on the ego structure of each of the informant, data on formative influences, such as parental care, frustrations caused by parents or parental surrogates, restrictive and permissive disciplines and trainings in different phases of life, in which each of the informants was exposed during childhood and adolescence, were collected, mainly from the interviews with the subjects.

2. The second step endeavours to show the effect of formative influences on the average personality formation of the Lodha including the spirit-possessed men in three phases of their life, namely, early childhood, late childhood and adolescence. For this purpose, data on cumulative social influences as gathered from the life histories and other sources have been included.

3. Besides the life histories, a retrospective account of the people as narrated by a prominent social worker who has been living among them for a long time, has also been incorporated in this volume, in order to supplement as well as complement some of the information, narrated in the life histories. Moreover, the observation of the author on different aspects of their way of life has also been included.

4. The Rorschach personality technique has been applied with a view to assessing the extent of corroboration between the personality configurations as revealed from both these techniques.

As the author has to depend mostly on the life history materials in order to tract down the influences of socio-cultural factors on the ego structures of the informants, the life histories have been presented first, followed by a summary of cumulative effects of institutionalized practices on the average ego structure.

SOCIO-CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PERSONALITY FORMATTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTING

The Lodha are an *ex*-criminal tribe, inhabiting the jungle tracts in the western part of Midnapore district in West Bengal. They generally live in close proximity to the Santal, Munda, Kharia and Bhumij, though many of them have also settled in the plains.

They speak in colloquial Bengali with slight Oriya accent. In the past, they were notorious for dacoity and highway robbery. In course of time, however, these activities are almost abandoned in favour of other traditional occupations, such as, collection of fire-wood, honey, different varieties of jungle products and fish. Moreover, a considerable number of them have taken recourse to manual labour and agricultural work.

This study was conducted among the Lodha of village Kukai which lies at about twenty-one miles south-east of Kharagpur Railway Station in the district of Midnapore. It is nearly three miles east of Keshiari Police Station and is about one-fourth mile south of Contai Road.

The village is inhabited by thirty-nine Lodha families. The total population of the village which is evenly divided between both the sexes is two hundred and seventeen.

The houses are mud-walled and thatched with straw. Each of the almost all the families has got one house which is generally partitioned inside and is erected on a small compound which is usually surrounded by bamboo fence. The village appears to be very neat and clean.

The adjacent villages are inhabited by caste Hindu as well as Namasudra and Santal.

There is a pond in the village which is used for bathing purpose. On the other hand, drinking water is fetched from the tube-wells, one of which is installed in the village.

The people are comparatively neat and clean. In dress as well as in manners and behaviour, they may be taken as prototype of lower caste Hindu.

There is a *Sitala* temple (Maro) in the village where the deity is installed and worshipped by the Lodha. Since a few years, a Social Welfare Centre which has been established by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, is working here for the upliftment of the tribals, especially of the Lodha. A Primary School has also been established by the Tribal Welfare Department for the education of the tribal children. There is a Multi-purpose Society which helps these people in time of need by way of giving loan to the needy. At present, all the Lodha of this village have got paddy land, supplied to them through Lodha Rehabilitation Scheme. However, with the exception of one or two families, they can hardly sustain themselves for more than five or six months with the yield from the land. So, to supplement their income, most of these people, besides fishing and collecting forest products, also work as labourers.

With regard to village organization, it may be mentioned that the Lodha Caste-Panchayat (Village Council) functions through two important office bearers, namely, *Mukhia* (headman) and *Dakua,* the village messenger. The headman along with other members of the village council can settle up minor disputes as well as impose fine on a person who breaks customary rules. On the other hand, function of the vlllage messenger is to call the villagers to attend the village council. Both of them are respected by the villagers (2).

It has been observed during the investigation that the headman of the village is considered as a nominal authority, and as such, he is not particularly respected, as for example, a prominent social worker who has been residing in the village since 1947 is consulted by these people in time of need as well as to settle up minor disputes.

Regarding religious officials, it has been mentioned that the important religious officials are *Deheri,* the village priest, *Gunni,* the medicineman and the *Byakra,* the spirit-possessed man (2).

The Lodha believe that certain persons and objects, namely, the medicineman, the spirit-possessed man, the *Daini* (witch), *Chandari* and *Godabari* (the 'rope' and 'cane' used by the spirit-possessed men in driving evil spirits) possess mysterious power which is either malevolent or benevolent. They also believe in the existence of spirits and ghosts, who dominate their lives to a great extent, and so, in order to appease them, they sometime perform magico-religious ceremonies. They have also attributed destructive powers to the conception of their deities, such as, Sitala is consider-

ed by them as the presiding deity of the epidemic diseases, *Baram* is worshipped as a tutelary deity and *Chandi* has been taken as a controller of serious diseases and illness. So in order to appease these deities, certain rites in the form of prayers, offerings and sacrifices are performed, whereas, to counteract the powers of evil spirits and witches, medicineman or spirit-possessed men are called (2).

The Medicinemen

The medicinemen are supposed to cure diseases and to drive evil spirits by using herbal medicines and incantations. This is not a hereditary designation. One can be propitiated to it by a preacher if he takes interest in it.

It has been observed by the author that these people are no longer as respected as was in the past.

The Witches

The belief in witches, who are supposed to be old women with malevolent power is widespread in Lodha society. They are believed to kill people, especially infants and children by casting an evil eye on them. The victims die of blood vomiting.

According to Shyamchand, a boy of about twelve years, the witch generally attacks small children who are usually healthy. If the witch desires to 'devour' a child, she simply stares at it, and the latter dies of blood vomiting. In such a case, the child is put into a grave. The witch during the night, disinters it and rubs it with oil and turmeric. As a result, the victim survives, and then, she eats it. Another story has been narrated by Madhab whose life history has been given elsewhere. When he was ill at Nayagram, he went to ease himself at night. While he was defecating, he saw a woman walking on hands and eating the night soil. It may be mentioned that there is a general belief among the Lodha that witches eat night soil. Gopal, son of Haguri, narrated the following story :

My mother's father was a renowned medicineman. There was a woman in the village who was believed to be a witch. She killed one of grandfather's sons. He suspected that the death was caused by that particular woman, because he once noticed that she went to the pond at dead of night after devouring night soil. Then he used incantations, and the witch was unable to come out of the

pond. He charged her for the killing of his son, which she confessed. Then he threatened her with dire consequences, and the witch was so much afraid that she promised not to do harm to his family any more. But, in fact, she did harm to the family after the death of my grandfather. She killed my sister. One day, she came to our house, stared at my sister and said that she was very nice. After that, the latter died of blood vomiting.

Spirit-possessed Men

They are those persons who pass into trance while chanting the names of *Bir* (spirits) and deities. *Changal* (drum) are being beaten sometimes to ensure a deep trance. They claim to foretell the future and cure people, possessed by evil spirits. These are not hereditary functions but have to be learnt from a preceptor. Spirit-possessed men are found in every Lodha village. In Kukai, Hari, Govardhan, Govinda, Rakshit, Mahendra and Nagen practise as spirit-possessed men.

Initiation as a Spirit-possessed Man

Regarding initiation, the accounts of Hari Bhakta, the Head spirit-possessed man of village Kukai is annexed here :

While initiating people, the preceptor and the disciples take their seats at right angles to each other. Each of them holds a cane which is sprinkled with water and marked with vermilion. The initiation generally takes place either on Tuesday or on Saturday, and the person to be initiated remains on a fast throughout the day. The essential things for the offerings are milk, banana, hemp, liquor, *chandmala* (garland made of Indian cork), *phoolchiri* (two sticks made of Indian cork and put cross-wise), two chickens, four earthen pots, vermilion, incense, *atap* rice and a branch of sacred basil. The place of worship is purified by sprinkling cow-dung water and by burning incense.

Then the preceptor chants the names of all the spirits and deities, and at the same time, he takes some oil in the palm of his hand, and by dissolving vermilion in it, he takes some on the tip of his fingure and makes as many spots as the spirits and deities on the ground. Then he instructs his disciple to name the spirits and deities along with him. In course of this process if the hands as well as the cane of the disciple do not tremble, he is instructed to stand on one leg (to be on *akthang*, which is also the name of a spirit), and then, to chant the names of the spirits. Generally, the

Initiation as a spirit possessed man : First Stage : The place of worship.

Initiation as a spirit possessed man : Second Stage : The disciple with cane in hand, chanting the names of the spirits along with the preceptor.

Initiation as a spirit possessed man : Third Stage : As the disciples cannot be induced in trance, they are advised to stand on one leg and to chant the names of the spirits.

Fourth Stage : One of the disciples is in deep trance and Hari hits on his back so that he might regain consciocesness.

body begins to sway in such a position and the man concerned passes into trance. When trembling violently, the preceptor holds him, otherwise, he may fall on the ground and may be injured. Then the preceptor pulls the legs of the disciple, and the latter falls down as he is in a deep trance. The initiation is complete at this stage. When in deep trance, the preceptor hits the back of the disciple, and the latter regains consciousness after some time. However, in cases, when the man concerned cannot be induced in trance, the preceptor rebukes the spirits with the following words :

Jhāl Kāje Guru	Drums are beaten
Mādal bāje ho	Damn you, God of Righteousness
Hāns Rājar ghorā	You are the horse of king Hāns and your name is Minagheri
Minā geri, Dharam devatā	You should come quickly
Bege chali ay, bap tumar Hadi bāchchā, mā tumār bidhuā.	Your father is the son of an untouchable
Jhung jhumrā jhumur mārā	And mother is a promiscuous lady.
Jhumur Khel.	Come quickly, Sanyāsi Bir,Nengtā
Ayre Sanyāsi Bir,	Bir.....
Bege chali āy.	(All the Bir are named in this
Nengtā Bir, bege chali āy	way.)

If then also, the disciple does not pass into trance or not possessed by the spirits-*byakra na dhare,* as the Lodha say, drums are beaten, and the names of the spirits are sung. If this procedure fails, then the person concerned is declared as unsuitable to be a spirit-possessed man. After the initiation, the preceptor is paid for it.

The names of the spirits and deities with their characteristic attributes are given below :

The Spirits

Chandari Bir ('rope' with mysterious power): If an evil spirit does harm, then the 'rope' fastens it. When a patient is possessed by a spirit, the rope will fasten it first, and then, will bring it to the spirit-possessed man.

Godabari Bir (the 'cane' with mysterious power): It is the 'cane' which is used by the spirit-possessed man in diagnosing disease, curing a patient and in predicting future events. When curing a patient, the cane is supposed to protect him from any harm done by the evil spirit by driving it away.

Akthang Bir (a spirit with one leg): If the disciple does not pass into trance when in a sitting posture, he is advised to stand on one leg and to chant the name of this spirit.

Dikubhanga: Spirit worshipped as a deity by the Santal.

Dalpahara Bir: This spirit acts as a watchman. If this spirit is worshipped, then no one is in a position to do any harm to the worshipper.

Khāriā Bir (a spirit without head): It is supposed to eat the penis of a naked boy.

Handia Bir (Handia means wine prepared by the Santal): It is a spirit worshipped as a deity.

Chagna (a witch after death turns into a Chagna): It lives on the flesh of men and animals. If it is worshipped then no harm can befall the worshipper.

Nengta Bir (the spirit which remains naked): When the possessed person becomes nude, this spirit helps the diseased to be dressed properly.

Sanyasi Bir: It fights with the evil spirits.

Deities

Swapnadhya: The deity of dreaming.

Hanumanjee: Mythological monkey chief, worshipped as a deity. When one is possessed by evil spirits, Hanumanjee will bring the spirit concerned and will order it to leave the patient.

Abhakanya: When children are possessed by evil spirits, Abhakanya is specially called along with other deities.

Telkanya: If any one sexually desires a girl, then the latter cannot sleep properly owing to fright and may be attacked with fever as well. She may be cured by taking mustard oil in the palm of the hand and by chanting the name of Telkanyā again and again.

Jhātāshilā (husband and wife named together): If any one is possessed by an evil spirit, then they will drive it with the broom-stick.

Besides these, the names of other deities, such as, Bāsuki, Basumatā, Dharam Devatā, Sitalā, Barām, Manglamā, Joychandi and Singhabāhini are also chanted during initiation.

Byakra-performance in Illness

When a spirit-possessed man is called, he first feels the pulse of the paient in order to diagnose whether the patient is suffering from sorcery or spirit-possession or from any other disease. In case of the former two, the relatives of the patient are requested to arrange necessary things for the offering and to purify the place of worship (already mentioned), and then, the spirit-possessed man takes his seat in a crouching position with cane in hand and chants the names of the spirits as is done in case of initiation. In addition, the following *mantra* (incantation) is uttered :

Tel tel shasyer tel	Oil, oil, mustard oil
Ke shasya, rai shasya.	What mustard, white mustard
Ai tele ki hai,	What this oil can do ?
Mara pare, Daini pare	It kills spirits, witches
Najar drishti, kar agna	And the malefactor too.
Ram Lakshmaner Agnā	It is Ram, it is Lakshman
Shigri dhara pare.	Who order
	That the evil doer
	Should be booked.

Then the spirit-possessed man chants the names of the spirits and deities. After sometime, he begins to shiver and when *Paban Devata* takes possession of him, he begins to shiver violently, and then passes into trance. While in trance, he goes to the patient and says, 'Go away.' If the spirit replies, 'I shall not go', then he is beaten with the cane. As a matter of fact, the patient speaks, and this is taken as a declaration by the spirit.

Actual case of Byakra-performance in Illness

A boy of about seven or eight years old was suffering from dysentery. His father called the spirit-possessed man for his son's treatment. In the evening, all the spirit-possessed men gathered there, and the author also went there to witness the performance. As has already been mentioned, the place of worship was purified, and the four spirit-possessed men, namely, Hari, Rakshit, Govardhan, and Nagen sat side by side in a crouching posture, and each of them placed a cane in front of him. On the other hand, four

men with drums sat behind them. Spectators sat on the sides. Then each of them picked up a cane, sprinkled water on it and then marked it with vermilion. Then holding the canes with their right hands, they closed their eyes and began to chant the names of the spirits. The drum-beating was going on at the same time. Then Rakshit's hand began to tremble. It was observed that when drum beating was violent, their hands trembled violently and when the beating was less in intensity, their hands also trembled less. In the meantime, the hands of Hari and Govardhan began to tremble. Hari caught hold of his cane with two hands, and his cane began to sway rythmically with the beatings of the drums. Suddenly hearing a peculiar sound, the author looked backward and saw that Mahendra was swaying backward and forward with the beatings of the drums. In the meantime, Hari had left his place and began to dance like a monkey. Then Rakshit also left his place and collided with Hari who, being an old man, fell down. Rakshit then went inside the house with the cane in hand, took up a crawling position near the patient and spoke to the boy, 'Go away'. The boy replied, 'Don't beat me'. Then Hari went inside the house, sat in front of the child, and afterwards, both Hari and Rakshit went out. The latter went into the house again, touched the head and legs of the boy with something and then again went out. Then both Rakshit and Hari went round the house several times. Hari suddenly climbed up the house and then fell down. He then took some thatch from the house and went to a nearby village and threw it there. (He later on explained to the author that throwing away thatch means getting rid of evil influences.) Then he returned to his house. By this time, Rakshit was moving here and there like a drunken man with cane in hand. All other spirit-possessed men were jumping, falling on the ground, and made peculiar noises. Rakshit again went inside the house and then went away after 'devouring' fire. Govinda, the father of Nagen, began to jump on the ground with his son like a frog. Father and son collided with each other several times. Mahendra wanted to climb the house but he fell down and went away, and thus, the whole episode came to an end.

Foretelling the Future

In order to have an idea regarding prediction by the spirit-possessed men, the author arranged for the worship of Sitala. The worship took place in the evening. At about 10 p.m., the people began to gather in the compound of the shrine. Six people sat on the ground and began to beat the drums with the accompaniment of singing. When the beatings of the

drums and the voices of the singers grew louder and louder, one man (Rakshit) from the gathering suddenly got up and began to dance. (His movements appear to correspond closely to those during coitus.) As soon as his eyes were closed he began to dance wildly with the beatings of drums. Then he dashed against the bamboo fence several times. He appeared to be semi-conscious about the surroundings. Then the second man, Mahendra, got up and began to dance wildly and then went in front of the deity, began to swing backward and forward, and afterwards, he also dashed against the fence and went away. Then a third man, Nagen, rather a boy of eighteen, who was playing on the drum, got up, threw the instrument, went near the fence, put his head under it and went outside. He appeared not to care for his physical injuries. Singing and drum-beatings were going on all the time. Then Hari began to swing his head, went before the deity, and began to dance wildly. He often prostrated before the deity and smelt incense. Then another spirit-possessed man got up and began to dance.

When the singing was stopped, all of them regained consciousness, and there was a lull for the time being. When drum-beating was resumed again, all of them began to dance. Then Hari went in front of the deity again, lay prostrate and began to smelt incense. He requested the drum-beaters to play on the drums more violently, and then, he began to predict as follows :

> "You people are not worshipping me (Sitala) properly. If I am annoyed, you will be attacked with cholera and other diseases, then who will protect you ? Perform my worship, using conch-shell, vermilion and cloth ; otherwise, you people will be in trouble."

The people present declared that they would perform the worship as instructed. Afterwards, Govardhan who was playing on the drum, threw it away and went out. (Later on, he informed the author that he went to the house of Hari, who worshipped the spirits regularly. He bowed to the images of the spirits and then went to the house of a man who was suffering from dysentery.) He went to the house of the patient and told the inmates to give him a betel-nut. (By touching the body of a patient with a nut which is then called *Muda*, they diagnose whether the disease is caused by a evil spirit. They place the Muda in front of the deity Sitala and keep their ears in contact with it. If they detect any hissing sound emanating from it, the ailment is diagnosed as caused by a spirit.) It was supplied to him, and he took the betel-nut and

kept it in front of the deity and placed his ear over it, and then, he revealed :

"There is a man in the village, and you people are not looking after him. If you don't take care of him then he is sure to die. He will be saved if he is given medicine by a doctor."

Next day, Govardhan reported to the author that the patient was much better. The author replied that it was due to the medicine, given by him. Govardhan said that he also advised for medical treatment. The author answered that he (Govardhan) knew about the improvement of the patient's condition before he predicted. He appeared to be annoyed, and then cited a story about his correct diagnosis which also revealed his self-reliance as a spirit-possessed man. He said that the incident, he was going to narrate, took place nearly one and a half year ago. There was a wealthy miser in a nearby village. Many inmates of his house died of small-pox in spite of treatments by doctors and medicinemen. So Govardhan was called to find out the cause of illness and a *Byakra* performance was arranged. He found out that the owner of the house had kept a *Yaksha* (a demi-god who superintends wealth) who was causing illness. The man concerned first refused to have any dealings with a supernatural being, but after much persuasion, he admitted its existence. Then Govardhan advised him to kill the Yaksha with the help of a ghost, and subsequently, it was killed by a ghost which was procured from a Brahmin by offering him one hundred and fifty rupees.

Introspective Experiences of the Spirit-possessed Men

According to Hari, "The body appears to be heavy as if taken alcoholic drinking. I feel like a man heavily drunk, and, I cmpletely forget the environment. In course of prediction, I think that I am possessed by a spirit, and I remain in a semi-conscious state. First, I feel heaviness throughout the body, and then, I begin to sway like a drunken man. Hands begin to tremble. If the drums are beaten violently, trance condition becomes deeper. The world appears to be vacant. Nothing can be remembered at this stage. Incense smelling also helps to be in deeper trance. I think that either the spirits or Sitala takes possession of the body and in that condition, whatever questions are being put, answers are given through me by supernatural beings. That day (during *Sitala puja* day), I was possessed by the deity concerned. I cannot remember now what I said, though in some occasions, I can remember my revealations partly."

The author thinks that during revealations, they remain in a drowsy state, as for example, in between his prediction during Sitala puja day, Hari repeatedly told the drum-beaters to beat the drums more violently.

With regard to his experiences in relation to *Byakra* performance during illness, Hari said that when he jumped from his seat, it was the spirits who did it. When he fell down, he was nearly unconscious, and he cannot remember whether he fell or not. He could remember very little when he climbed the house and when he fell down, and could not say whether he felt any pain due to the fall. He could not also remember whether he threw some thatch in another village or collided with his son-in-law, Rakshit. (This introspective experience of Hari relates to his diagnosing illness, which has already been mentioned.)

Nagen's introspective experiences are as follow: "During Sitala puja day, I was playing on the drum and when Mahendra passed into trance, I felt heaviness in the head. I also felt dizziness, and then, I threw the drum and could not remember what I did afterwards. The experiences of other spirit-possessed men are simiar to those of Nagen.

Belief in Ghost

Some of the ghost stories are narrated here: The informant Biraja said that there was an widespread belief that there lived a ghost in the house of her father-in-law (Ram Kotal) and that her mother-in-law was possessed by it. The evil-spirit looked like her cousin Ashu. His name was Kartik. (Kartik was also the name of one of her husband's brother who died long ago.) After her marriage when she became pregnant, she noticed that a cat slept with her at night. About this incident she told to her husband who advised her not to be unnecessarily worried over it. After the birth of her son, the cat assumed the form of a human being and began to sleep with her. When she was first possessed by the ghost, *she dreamt that the ghost was urging her to have sexual intercourse with him and she replied by saying, 'How to have coitus with one who was not a human being ?'* Afterwards, the spirit assumed human form and performed coitus with her, and she got infinite pleasure out of that union. Then she narrated that the ghost once gave her a bundle of ten rupee notes and a golden umbrella. She showed these to her husband and kept them on the ceiling of the house. However, these were subsequently vanished. On another occasion, when she was taking her meal, her plate was

covered with copper coins. All these incidents were confirmed by her husband.

After the death of her first mother-in-law, her father-in-law married again. One day, she requested the ghost to live with her mother-in-law. He refused by saying that he did not like her. The ghost lived with her for five or six years and during that period, her five children died. It may be said regarding Biraja that she is a divorced woman, married for the second time, and very loose in moral character.

Regarding the incident narrated above, Hari said that the ghost was a Yaksha because when it was in Ram Kotal's house, he was becoming richer day by day. Then he added that the ghost was driven by him through *Byakra* performance but it again returned.

The second story relates to Haguri whose life history has been given elsewhere. He said, "My original home was at Khejra. When my age was sixteen or seventeen years, I was employed as a cowherd. I used to sleep in another man's house which was nearly two furlongs away from my employer's house. One night, I took my meal late, and then, started for the house where I slept. When I was in the compound of that house, something fell in front of me from a tree. It looked like a big monkey with very big eyes. I was so much frightened that I could not utter a single word. It made a very shrill sound and then went away".

Then he narrated another story which happened at Kukai: "Once during the rainy season, I, with Jiten Mallik, went to Kaliagarh (a pond which is nearly two furlongs from the village). When we were nearly hundred yards away from the pond, we heard a very loud voice coming from a tree. However, we decided to proceed as we were not at that time afraid of any ghost. When the sound came for the second time, we were frightened and began to walk backward. When we came near our village, we ran and entered into the house of Jiten. From that day, I do not go to that place alone at night." Haguri appears to be a clever and sober man.

Retrospective Account of the People

The observation of Shri Prabhas Kumar Midya, a prominent social worker, who has been living among the Lodha of Kukai since 1947, is given here in order to have an idea of the people and their background in the past.

The village was very dirty. In the village, there was a pond which was always covered with haycinth, weeds, etc., and the water was not suitable for drinking purpose. There was another pond, not far off from the village. It was fenced by the owner, and so, the Lodha could not use the water. As a result of drinking filthy water, these people fell victim to cholera epidemic. Many died and many fled. The dead were dragged and thrown away.

People believe that the deity Sitala has a witch by the name of Shutki who spreads the jerms of diseases. So they began to worship the deity, used their own medicine and took the help of the spirit-possessed men. Shri Midya advised them to keep their houses neat and clean and to drink boiled water. People took his advice, and the epidemic gradually subsided.

Shri Midya was sent to this village by Congress people. The people built a hut which was used as a school as well as his accommodation. He began to educate the Lodha and trained them how to use spinning wheel.

At that time, these people were notorious robbers and thieves and the neighbouring people were very much afraid of them, so much so, that they were told by their Bengali neighbours to vacate the place, if they happened to visit their houses. They were treated by the police in such a way that even if they were not guilty, they were apprehended. On the other hand, the zamindars harrassed them in many ways. They beat them, rebuked them, raped their women, and even kept them as concubines. So they were an oppressed people, harrassed from all sides.

Their main income lay on robbery, thieving, collection of tuber, roots of water-lily, snail, tortoise and fish, the latter two are generally stolen from other peoples' pond. Only four or five men of the village had agricultural land, and they could maintain themselves from the produce hardly for three or four months.

To counteract the oppressions, Shri Midya held several meetings among the Lodha and Santal and started social work for their upliftment. The zamindars were so much enraged with him that they even tried to murder him. The Lodha were very much loyal to him. They passed their night with him in order to protect him from the wrath of the zamindars as well as to protect them from the atrocities of the police. Wherever Shri Midya went, they accompanied him armed with bows and arrows. Then he cited an instance of loyalty and love towards him. Once, he went to a

village where a murder was committed. As he could not return to his village at the appointed time due to heavy pressure of work, he was requested by the host to take his night meal there. While he was taking his dinner, some forty or fifty people, armed with bows and arrows, arrived there. The owner of the house took them for dacoits and was very much perturbed. However Shri Midya recognized them as the Lodha of Kukai and enquired about the purpose of their visit. They appeared to be very much annoyed with him and replied whether the food supplied by them (they supplied his meals) could not fill his stomach. He returned with them. It was revealed later on that as he did not return in the evening, they thought that something had happened to him, and so, they armed themselves and went in numbers to counteract any eventuality. On another occasion, he was attacked with malaria and was in a very serious condition. These people did not call any doctor as they suspected that the doctors might kill him at the instigation of the zamindars. Instead, they called their medicine-men and spirit-possessed men to cure him from illness.

With regard to his social work among the Lodha, it may be pointed out that these people did not work for the Namasudra. If any one worked privately, he did not take his meal. The reason being that Lord Jagannath is believed to be installed by the Sabar (Lodha claim to be Sabar), and so, they are looked upon by the caste Hindu as superior to Namasudra, and consequently, the barbers and washermen who serve the caste Hindu, also worked for them. So the zamindars instigated that the Lodha, being superior to Namasudra, should never serve the latter. On the contrary, if they worked for them, then the washermen and the barbers would never serve them. On the other hand, Shri Midya advised them not only to work but to take their meals as well in the house of Namasudra. They acted accordingly, and the zamindars were enraged, because they were afraid of the cordial feelings between these people.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave visited the village in the year 1955 and in the year 1957, Lodha Rehabilitation Scheme was sponsored, and plots of agricultural land were distributed among the Lodha. As a result, they are at present more or less financially well placed than in the past.

Observation of the Author

It appears that the overall picture of the people, and the village is different than that which existed in the year, 1947.

Now-a-days, they are not harassed by the police and the zamindars. The villagers earn their living by honest labour. All of them have got agricultural land, and they usually supplement their income by working as day or monthly labourers as well as by selling tortoise, fish and honey. Many of them also educate their children in the Primary School.

The village as a whole is very neat and clean. They are very hard-working people though they are prone to relax when food is available. But during scarcity, men, women and even grown-up boys and girls go for work as labourers.

Shri Midya informed the people that the author wanted to do some work for their benefit, and so, they should meet him at his house where the author lived. They promised to do so but they did never turn up in spite of Shri Midya's influence, and when the author enquired about their non-compliance, they offered excuses which proved to be false. So the author went round the village and distributed lozenges, combs, hairclips, *bidi* and tobacco to the children, boys and adults. Afterwards, they began to visit the author for presents, and his work progressed satisfactorily. However, they again discontinued their visits after sometime, and so, after consultation with Shri Midya, the author offered them one rupee per session, and since then, the investigation progressed as expected. Moreover, they often visited the author for advice, financial assistance and medicine.

It appears that their reluctance to sit for the interviews was mainly caused by their suspicion as to the outcome of the investigation as well as financial considerations.

It has also been observed that in the majority of the cases of ailments, the diseased is treated either by a medicineman or by a spirit-possessed man, and in case, these treatments fail, some of them seek the help of doctors. They often resigned to fate, as for example, they occasionally suffer from stomach troubles and fever, and when the disease takes a serious turn, some of them engage a spirit-possessed man as a healer instead of consulting a doctor. One of the reasons for not taking medicine appears to be their financial unstable condition.

They are quarrelsome and hot tempered people, though tend to be submissive to outsiders, if they are important persons. They appear to be less conscious of showing gratitude to one who helps them, as for example, it happened occasionally that though fishes

and eggs were available in the village, they showed reluctance to sell them either to Shri Midya or his wife on the pretext that they were not available or they were themselves going to use them. The reason being that, they thought that they might get less price in comparison with the market rate or these things might be purchased on credit.

It has also been observed that adolescent boys and girls do not mind to steal vegetables, eggs and even small amount of money from others' houses. On one occasion, sixteen eggs and two rupees were stolen from Shri Midya's house when the author was there.

With regard to monetary transactions, it may be mentioned that many of them want to deprive others from their dues, as for example, once the author gave one rupee to a Lodha who was friendly to him, but the amount was never returned. On another occasion, he gave the same amount to his friend, another Lodha, who is apparently an honest man and comparatively well-off, but in this case as well, the amount was never returned. To cite other instances, it may be mentioned that once Shri Midya gave some advances, to some of the Lodha to plough the land of the multi-purpose society. Though they promised to turn up regularly, many of them did never attend the ploughing as promised. One man, Rakshit frankly admitted that as he had no money to pull on for the next day, he was not coming to plough on that day. One day, their former zamindar rebuked them in the presence of the author as they did not attend his work though they had already taken advance from him.

These people are also superstitious. Not only they believe in the existence of ghost, but they also think that harm may befall on them, if they work on the day of Sitala Puja or during certain illness in the family, as for instance measles. There is another belief that if a *Air* fish or a tortoise is caught in another man's pond, then these are not to be given to the owner, even though, these acts may be considered as stealing. Is this belief a rationalization of their stealing habit ?

With regard to ego-involvement as manifested by these people, it is worth-mentioning that Shri Madya has been working among them for fourteen years. It is for him that they are now more or less integrated, self-sufficient and comparatively less quarrelsome, though occasional litigations are carried out due to party politics. As for example, there are two parties in the village, and a long-standing dispute was settled by Shri Midya, yet it appears that tension is still now going on at the instigation of third parties. In

most of the cases, minor as well as major disputes are settled by Shri Midya. They always seek his advice. They appear to be helpless without him, and naturally, they look upon him as a father surrogate, and so, they depend on him entirely, and for this reason, they cannot take any initiative in most of their activities, which means lack of ego-involvement.

These people appear to be very aggressive. Last year, in order to harass Shri Midya, the trustees of the land where he lives, advised a Lodha, who belongs to the minority party which is antagonistic to Shri Midya and the majority party, to erect a fence on the disputed land and to cut the trees planted by him. The Lodha did accordingly, and so, the other Lodha who are supporters of Shri Midya, came forward and intervened. There was a great altercation which might have been ended in killing if Shri Midya did not intervene in time.

With regard to criminal activities, it may be said that even a few years ago, they took recourse to dacoity and stealing. Now they appear to be a changed people, though stealing paddy and vegetables takes place on and often. In this village, there is a habitual thief who has settled here on condition that he will never take recourse to this practice again. Another dacoit who was wanted for arrest was handed over to the police by these people.

CHAPTER TWO

PRESENTATION OF THE LIFE HISTORIES

In all seventeen life histories, six from the spirit-possessed men and eleven from the general population are given here. At least, two subjects from the latter group, with one exception, have been matched with a spirit-possessed man with regard to age. In order to understand the human environment in which the subjects have been brought up, each life history record is accompanied by a genealogical table. With the exception of the spirit-possessed men, all other auto-biographies do represent the average adult population of the Lodha of village Kukai. When viewed from spirit-possession, the spirit-possessed men may be considered as a special class. On the other hand, if they are judged by their day-to-day activities, they may be considered as falling within the orbit of the average adult population.

The material presented here was secured after establishing good rapport with the informants. An elaborate discussion about this procedure has been presented in an earlier chapter. Regarding the collection of the life histories, it may be pointed out that informal life histories were collected first, that is, the subject was asked to narrate the incidents of his life covering from infancy to adult-hood. After the completion of such a narrative, he was questioned about important omissions. The questions are parenthetically included in the life histories in order to differentiate these inter-views from the spontaneous ones. Some of the interviews are rich in detail, but most of these contain comparatively poor accounts.

Particulars about the subjects regarding age, sex, number of sessions and sibling positions are presented below :

SUBJECTS OF THE LIFE HISTORY

The Spirit-possessed Men

Name	Sex	Age	No. of Session	Sibling Position
Rakshit	Male	45 yrs.	4	Youngest of 3 chlildren
Mahendra	,,	36 ,,	2	Fourth of 5 children
Govardhan	,,	45 ,,	2	Youngest of 3 children
Hari	,,	60 ,,	2	Second of 5 children
Govinda	,,	40 ,,	1	Youngest of 3 children
Nagen	,,	20 ,,	2	First of 5 children

General Population

Name	Age	No. of Session	Sibling Position
Ramchandra	60 yrs.	3	Fifth of 7 children
Kishta	45 „	2	Fourth of 5 children
Khudiram	26 „	3	Second of 4 children
Haguri	60 „	3	Second of 3 children
Mangal	40 „	1	Youngest of 5 children
Ramhari	40 „	2	Third of 4 children
Madhab	36 „	7	Third of 5 children
Nitai	36 „	2	Second of 3 children
Narayan	20 „	1	Fourth of 7 children
Mihir	20 „	1	First of 6 children
Pitambar	45 „	1	Third of 7 children

Life Histories of the Spirit-possessed Men

Rakshit

X Turi-O....X Sanatan- O..... X Bhusan
X Pochu X Sreehari
X Baikuntha X Rakshit- O.... O.....
O.....
-O.... O.....
X.....

April 29, 1960

(Narrate incidents of your life.) When I used to crawl, my parents died. After their death, my brother Sreehari told my eldest brother, 'Let us give him in the house of a hadi.' (Women, Hadi by caste, generally act as mid-wives and also take care of forsaken children.) My eldest brother replied, 'As we have a goat in the house, we are in a position to look after him (Rakshit'.) So I remained in the house. When I was about five or six years old, my eldest brother went towards Calcutta in order to go on pilgrimage, where he succumbed to an attack of cholera. My brother Sreehari wanted to get rid of me. My clan-uncle Nari said, 'I shall keep him with me, he will look after my goat.' So he took me and I remained in his house. My uncle and aunt loved me very much as they had no children. When I grew a bit older, my uncle and aunt said, 'Now you are grown up, so earn money by being employed as a cowherd.' My uncle who was very poor had to sell his goat to maintain me. So he decided to get myself employed as a cowherd. Subsequently, I was engaged in the house of a gentleman in exchange of food only. At that time, my brother Sreehari who was fifteen or sixteen years of age married. My employer began to ill-treat me very much. He

gave me whatever remained in his dish and also beat me on and often. I had to remove even the night soil of the children. Generally, I collected fire-wood and looked after the cattle. After serving there for three or four years, I asked my uncle,'I don't want to serve this employer any more. He beats me frequently, so keep me in a good place.' One day my employer had beaten me so severely and mercilessly that I ran away and told my uncle, 'Either employ me in a good place or I am leaving you and going to my brother.' Then my aunt said, 'Don't go away. I am looking after you since your infancy. Stay here and whatever I shall take, you will share.' Then one day another gentleman came and enquired to my uncle whether I could plough. My uncle replied that I could, and then, I was employed by him.

In the meantime, my former employer came to my uncle's house one day and told him, 'Nari Kotal, where is my cowherd ? You swine, go and bring him.' My uncle replied, "As you have ill-treated him so he does not want to serve you any more." Then my uncle came to me and requested me to return to my first employer as he was our landlord. My uncle said, "If you do not return then you might have been beaten by him." I told my uncle that I was not going there and advised him to send my previous employer to me so that I could tell him that I had left his place at my own accord. One day my first employer came and told me, 'You swine, who have brought you here ?' I replied, 'I had left your service at my own accord.' Then he told me, 'Your uncle has taken twelve rupees from me. Who are going to pay ?' I replied that I had not taken his money, and hence, that was not my concern. Then my employer left.

After some days, my second employer told me, 'Your uncle has told me that you should serve here. So call your uncle, I want to fix your pay.' I called my uncle and my pay was settled at one and a half rupee per month. I was in his house for seven years.

After four or five months, my uncle came to collect my pay and told my employer to give him some money out of my salary. My employer replied that he was not going to pay him as my parents were dead, and there was no one to look after me ; he would accumulate the money in order to get myself married. After five or six years, my employer told me, 'Your wages are deposited with me. Now you are grown up, and so, I have decided to arrange your marriage.' Then one day, he came to our village, selected a bride and told the bride's father whether he was inclined to give his daughter in marriage with me. The father of the bride

agreed, and a sum of rupees twenty-two was settled as bride-price. On returning home, the employer told me, 'I have settled your marriage. Now communicate this news to your uncle.' My uncle was informed, and when he came, my employer gave him two maunds of paddy for preparing rice. My uncle went away with two maunds of paddy. Then the employer purchased from the market other necessary things, and the marriage took place on the appointed date.

After some days, the employer told me, 'I have given your marriage, now return home, build a house and live with your wife.' Then he gave me two maunds of paddy and twenty rupees in cash. I returned to my village, and as I had no house to live in, I began to live in the house of Jagnashwar. My wife cooked for me but slept in her father's house. After five or six months, Jagnashwar's wife told me, 'I have allowed you to live in my house for about five months. Now go elsewhere.'

One day, Bepin Babu of Keshiari wanted to engage some labourers, and so, he sent a man to our village for this purpose. I accepted the offer and was employed to build a road. After two days, I completed the work and when my employer paid me, I caught hold of his legs, began to cry, and said, 'Babu, I have no land to build a house, so kindly give me some land for this purpose.' He promised to consider the matter. Then one day, he came to our village and after inspection, selected a plot of land and told me to build a house there. Though the place was considered to be a haunted one as the man who lived there, died with all the members of his family, I accepted the offer as I had no other alternative, and afterwards, I build a house. At that time my only earning lay on my work as a day labourer. I earned nearly three annas per day and spent one anna for salt and two annas for rice. I made a hole in one of the bamboo poles of the house and kept one pice in it everyday. During the market days, I earned nearly twelve annas and kept it with the man under whom I worked. In this way, I accumulated nearly seven rupees.

Then I purchased a rickety male calf at rupees five and returned home. On seeing it, my wife began to cry and said, 'I have no cloth. You are not purchasing any ; instead, you have purchased a half dead calf which will die soon.' However, I cleaned it with water and began to feed the calf properly. The calf soon became healthy, and one day Hari Bhakta of our village requested me to supply him with my bullock for one season in exchange of four maunds of paddy. I was at first reluctant but ultimately handed

over to him my bullock and requested him to take proper care of it. After a year, he returned the bullock and gave me three maunds of paddy. Then I sold the paddy and went to Tengra Bazar to purchase another bullock. There, I was arrested by a Sub-Inspector of Police. On my release, I married for the second time as I had no male issue.

April 30, 1960

(Narrate incidents of your early life.) Parents died when I was very young. I had to serve as a cowherd from the age of five or six years. During this time, *I dreamt that my garments had caught fire.* I came out of sleep and was very much afraid. On another day, *I dreamt that a lady, very beautiful and red in colour, sat by the side of my head.* As I lost my parents during infancy, I thought why the supernatural beings were playing with me. During the time of Shiva worship, the worshippers were performing the holy rites in a place not far off from my employer's house. Usually in such circumstances, they walked over fire on bare feet. So I went there, and, while witnessing the ceremony, I passed into trance and subsequently fell into the fire. When I came to my senses, I got up and went near the place of worship, and then, the worshippers garlanded me and put sandal paste on my forehead. I thought that certainly my hands and clothes had been burnt but to my surprise, I noticed that these had not been affected. On my return to the house of my employers, he taunted me by saying, 'Who has put garland on your neck?' Then I described the incident to him. As my employer was unkind, I left him after serving for nearly three years. I took service again. I was in the second employer's house for about seven years. As he had no children, he used to love me very much. While in his house, *I dreamt (still now he dreams) that my clothes were buring. Then I went to a medicineman to seek his advice in this matter but he could not help me. Last night I dreamt: Mustard seeds were scattered on the ground. I gathered them and put them in a sack. Then I told my cousin to carry them in order to sow in the field. My cousin replied that he was not going to carry it. So I told my brother to carry it, and I was also going to help him. Then I told him that as my baby was crying I was not going to help him. Associations:* These seeds are for the offerings to Sitala. These are perhaps fallen when taking from one sack to the other. I placed them either on the shoulder of my brother or on the ass which is used as a mount by the deity. Regarding the baby, it appears that it is not my own baby but belongs to others. Perhaps the deity has put seeds on its head, so it is crying. (His second

dream) *He dreamt : My clothes were burning. A lady sat by the side of my head. Associations :* Why fire is being put into my clothes ? What I have done to the Creator ? I think, perhaps, I have devoured fire in my trance condition. It appears that the lady is goddess Sati.....she is putting fire on my clothes.....but I have not committed any sin. I have not taken recourse to robbery though police has harassed me.

When I was about twenty or twenty-two years of age, I went to Nimpura bazar and was arrested by police. The police took me to Keshiari Police Station. There, I met my landlord and told him, 'I served you, my father served you, and so, help me.' He replied, 'As you are caught on the road and not here, so what can I do for you ? Then I called my elder brother and requested him to release me on bail and to look after my family in my absence. I was subsequently released on bail. When I was arrested, I had some cash money with me. The Sub-Inspector took it from me and told me that he would return the amount to my wife. However, he did not return it. The hearing of the case took place in Midnapore which is nearly twenty-seven miles from my village. I had to cover this long distance on foot. Once when I went to Midnapore to attend my case, I felt very tired and slept. Then I dreamt the following two dreams : 1 : *Two buffaloes came and struck me with their horns.* 2 : *One ascetic came and sat by my side and said, 'Don't be afraid. You will not be punished. I shall save you.' Associations :* 1. Buffalo-police.....police struck me. 2. Sanyasi—Bhagavan (God)..... He came and as I am innocent..... shall be acquited.

I was jailed for fifteen days and subsequently acquited on appeal.

May 5, 1960

Last night, I dreamt : *I am sitting on the root of a tree and thinking, 'Why the Almighty has given me so much trouble. I should die.' Then a Brahmin came and told me, 'Why are you sitting here ?' I replied, 'I am going towards the field for catching tortoise, and as the day is hot, I am sitting here.' The Brahmin replied, 'Summer season should be hot. What can you do ? There will be no rain in this month. The rainy season will not start soon.' Associations :* Brahmin—I think that the Brahmin is Bhagavan.... I told him that I am a poor man, and how should I live during these hot days. He said, 'Take recourse to stealing and dacoity and thus, protect yourself and your children. As God has created you, so he will protect you.' When my son cried, I was awakened and chanted the name of God again and again.

Fire Eater

About eight or nine years ago, there was a cholera epidemic in our village. One night when I was sleeping in my house, I passed into trance, and then, went to the temple of Sitala in a trance condition and predicted : The people will not die any more if they clear the village, roads, houses, clean themselves and eat little quantity of clean food.

After that I devoured fire (He inserted in his mouth a burnt stick of timber), and then came out of the trance condition.

One day police came to my house. When I saw them, I passed into trance. I began to cry and fell on the fence. When I came out of trance, the police enquired about the matter, and since then, I had never been harassed by the police.

Early Childhood

He was asked to describe his trainings from early childhood to adolescence.

Walking : Parents died early. My eldest brother helped me in walking. I cannot remember exactly whether other people helped.

Feeding : My eldest brother or in his absence his wife used to feed me with milk and rice. If my eldest brother went out, then he instructed his wife to feed me with milk. Occasionally, I used to suck milk from the teat of the goat. At the age of three or four years, I took rice three times daily. When all of them went out for work, they kept rice for me in the house and when I felt hungry, I ate rice. I also went to other people's houses and sat by the side of their ovens. When they finished their meals, they offered me whatever remained in their dishes.

Toilet Training : I used to defecate here and there upto the age of three or four. At the age of about five years, my eldest brother kept water in a pot and showed me the place where to defecate. I cleaned myself by taking water from the pot. When a bit older, I went to the pond for cleaning after defecation.

Bath : My brother helped me in taking bath upto the age of three or four years.

Sleeping : I slept with my eldest brother. Later on, I slept with my aunt, wife of my clan-uncle Nari.

Talking: I addressed my uncle as father and aunt as mother. My brothers, uncle and aunt helped me in talking.

Discipline: My brothers beat me, and my uncle and aunt rebuked me when I made them annoyed. Occasionally, I was beaten by my aunt when I quarrelled with other boys. However, she advised me afterwards not to play with them.

Tantrum: My parents were dead so with whom I would quarrel. When I was annoyed, I left the house, and my aunt took me home after searching here and there.

Training in Work: My uncle taught me how to graze cattle.

Residence: At the age of about six years, I was employed as a cowherd and lived in the house of my employer. Before employment, I lived with my aunt.

May 7, 1960

(Before describing his experiences during late childhood, he narrated the following dream.) *Last night, I dreamt that Binova came to the village and sat under a peepul tree in front of my house. Many people came, and he held a meeting. He told me, 'Why your house is so small?' I replied, 'It is not possible for me to be well-off in one day.' He replied, 'We have given you land.' Associations*: Binova--He is a god. Smaller house-People may say why your condition is such. Land—Now I have caught hold of a stick after four or five years, I might get up with its help (that is, he might be prosperous).....everything progressed slowly.....Ravan came to Sita assuming the form of an ascetic, so Binova came to us in the guise of a human being.

Late Childhood and Adolescence

At the age of about six years, I used loin cloth. My uncle and aunt told me, 'Why you remain naked? You go to the field to look after goat. If you remain naked, then *Kharia bhut* (a kind of ghost) will pass through your legs (that is, the ghost will eat his penis).'

Food: At the age of six or seven years, I took my meal separately. When I was employed as a cowherd, my employer gave me meal in the cow-shed as I did not know how to clear up the dining place properly.

Play : As I was employed, there was least opportunity for playing. However, when I went to the field to graze cattle, I played occasionally.

Discipline : While employed as a cowherd, if I forgot to take out the cattle to the field in time then my employer not only rebuked me but also pulled my ears. Then I returned home and my aunt advised me to return to work again. My uncle and aunt rebuked me for my running away from the house of my employer.

Sex : At the age of fourteen or fifteen years, Panchu of our village requested me to work for him for one year, and in exchange, he promised to give his daughter in marriage with me. So I was employed in his house, and before the completion of one year, I reminded him of his promise. In the meantime, the brother of the bride came to know about this marriage proposal, and he arranged her marriage elsewhere. There was an altercation between the son and the father and the marriage finally took place with another man. At the age of fifteen or sixteen years, I quarrelled with my uncle and went to Midnapore for work. There I met a girl, Dom by caste, along with her mother. I fell in love with the girl, and her mother wanted to get her daughter married with me. However, I left the place as I did not want to marry a Dom girl.

Aggression : I quarrelled with Ramhari and beat him severely.

Financial Status

I work as a day labourer, practise as a spirit-possessed man, collect fish and tortoise and sell them to the market. These are my only sources of income, and I live on hand to mouth.

Analysis of Rakshit's Life History

He lost his parents when he was a mere child. His next elder brother wanted to give him to a Hadi woman but his eldest brother intervened, and so he remained in the house, and after his eldest brother's death, he was given to his clan uncle and remained there till he was employed as a cowherd in the house of an employer who was very rude and unkind to him. During this period, he dreamt his first anxiety dream : *His clothes caught fire and a red lady sat by the side of his head.* It has been revealed from the associations that the red lady was goddess Sati. He was very much frightened over it. His own interpretation of this dream is that the supernatural beings are playing with him.

What can be expected from one who was unwanted and uncared for during childhood. The natural consequence was that he was inhibited and frustrated, and the result was anxiety dreams, weak ego-development and supernatural inclination.

He was not initiated as a spirit-possessed man by a preceptor, but was acclaimed as such, as he could pass into trance. His first trance took place when he served the employer who was very unkind to him. He went to attend the worship of Siva, and there he passed into trance while witnessing the Shiva worship. This indicates his flight from reality—an hankering after power through supernatural help.

It appears that due to frustrations, he could not develop a strong ego. His ego is weak. However, this weak ego-development has been compensated by (i) supernatural parental surrogates, (ii) optimistic dreams and (iii) compensatory traits for power as manifested in *Byakra* performance when he acts as a healer and predictor of future events.

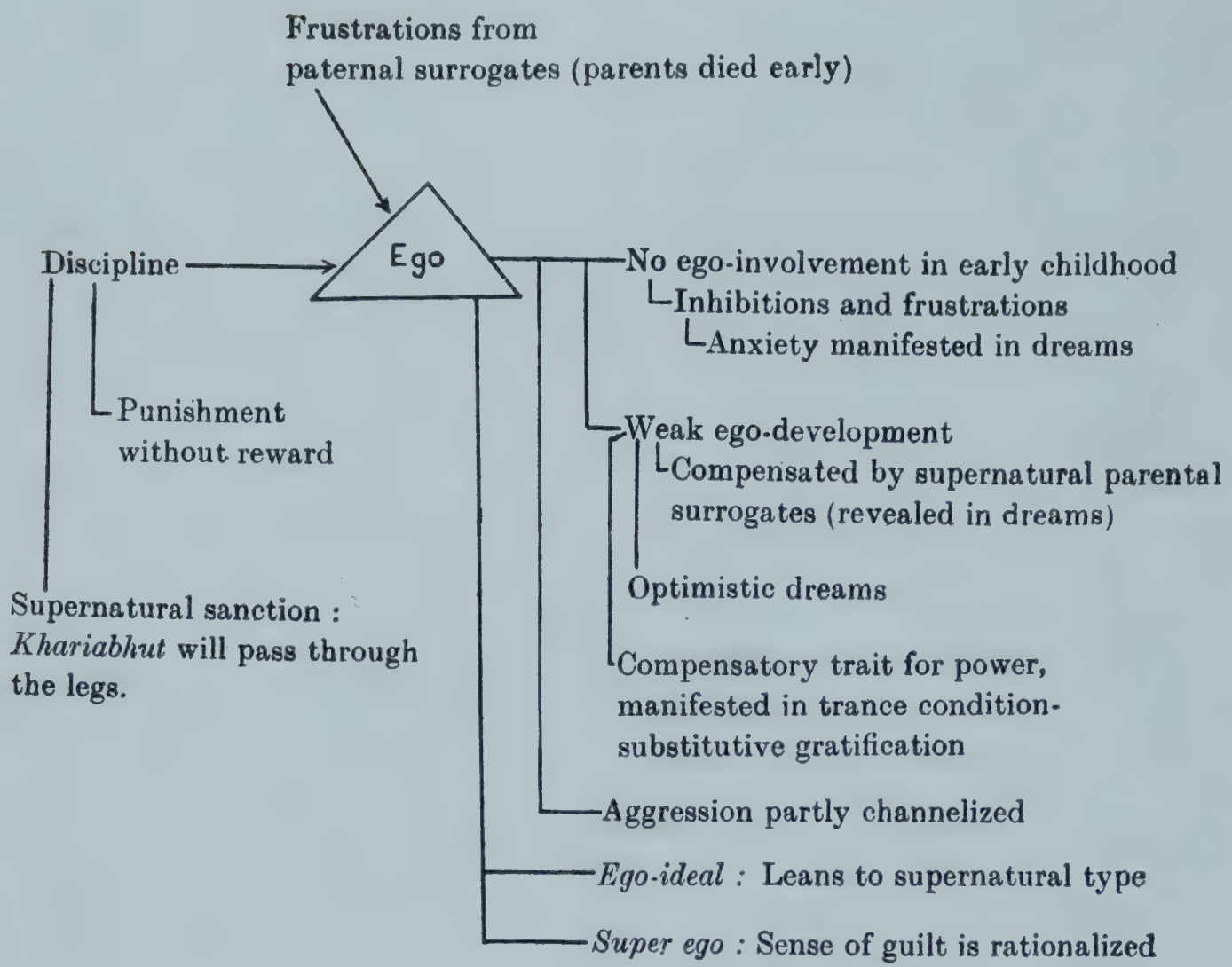
Compensatory tendencies as manifested in (i) and (ii) may be examplified by the following dream and its associations : *Binova came to the village and told him why his house was so small though he was given land.* Associations reveal that Binova has been taken as a god, and secondly he believes that in course of time, he will be prosperous.

His ego-ideal leans to supernatural type. His manifestations in trance as well as in dreams reveal that he has passive inclination towards supernatural beings, as for example, during cholera epidemic, he passed into trance, went to the temple, and predicted the future activities of the people. Once, when police came to arrest him, he passed into trance, that is, took recourse to supernatural help.

On another occasion, he dreamt : *I am sitting on the root of a tree and thinking why Almighty has given me so much troubles ? I should die.....*He gave the following associations : I think that the Brahmin is a god. I told him that I am a poor man. How should I live during these hot days ? He advised me to take recourse to stealing and dacoity, and thus, protect myself and my children as the God has created me, so He will have to protect me.

The above dream shows his sense of guilt, which has been rationalized, that is, it is God Who orders him to take recourse to stealing and dacoity. He chanted the name of Ram in order to relieve him from guilt feelings.

Rakshit's Ego Structure



Mahendra

X Budhu- O Ratni.....X Kuklu
X Murati X Vagu
X Baikuntha O Padi
O Duli X Ishwar
X Mahendra- O Hariprya.... O Asha
O Taruiata O Nani (dead)
(divorced)

April 22, 1960

I sucked my mother's breast upto one year. At the age of about six, I was employed in the house of a local zamindar for grazing cattle. Sometimes what happened was that if the employer told me to feed the cows, and I did not act accordingly, he would beat me. Once he told me to supply wood for fuel. As I took my own time to comply with his order, he rebuked me first, and then, he beat me on my head with his shoe. The wound was severe, and it began to bleed profusely. He called a doctor, and afterwards, I returned home. After a month or so, I went again to serve in his house. I was at first reluctant to go but my father told me that he had already taken advance, so either I would have to go or he would have to return the money. Moreover, my

employer might have beaten him as well. So I went again. I was there for a year only.

While I was employed as a cowherd, my meal consisting of puffed rice, and rice was sent to the field. On the other hand, if the employer was in the field, his meal, comprising parched rice, curd, rice, meat, etc., was sent there. So some of the cowherds including myself decided to take parched rice. So what we did was to steal paddy from the employer's godown, and then, exchanged it for parched rice. In this way, we took parched rice for about four or five days, and then, we discontinued this practice as we were afraid to be caught and beaten.

On my return home, I began to help my father in his work. After sometime, my father told me, 'I am an old man. Your elder brothers are already married, so I want that you should get yourself married. I want that your wife cooks for me and also looks after me. Anything may happen to me at any time.'

As money was essential for marriage, I again took service for one hundred and sixty rupees a year. The employer paid in advance. (Question about marriage) The proposal for the marriage was first made to the village Pejra. The Pejra people said that they did not like to have any marriage relation with any one of our village (His ancestral village was at Keshiari.) The second proposal was made to village Kukai, and it was accepted. As I wanted to see the bride, I told my father that I wanted to go to Kukai to see a friend of mine. I suppressed the fact because my father would not agree if he knew my real intention. I came to Kukai and after seeing the bride, I told my father that the bride was black, and so, I did not want to marry her. On hearing this, my father became very angry and told me, 'Lord Krishna is black, and we worship him. So you will have to marry this girl.' The bride price was fixed at rupees fifty and the marriage took place on an appointed date.

My mother loved me most. If my father rebuked me, my mother quarrelled with him. My father punished me frequently for not attending school regularly. Once the teacher complained to my father about my non-attendance, and my father was so much enraged that he beat me severely. My mother objected and told my father that it would not matter if one of the children did not attend school regularly. There was a big quarrel between my parents, and my mother went away to my maternal uncle's house. Then my father went there and escorted her back.

My sister often came to our house and complained about the ill-treatment meted out to her by her husband who also kept a concubine. At that time, I was nearly ten years of age. Once, when her husband came to take her back, we four brothers fastened him with a rope and beat him mercilessly. As I was a little boy, I did not beat but helped them in many ways. My parents also instigated us. When the beating was over, my brother-in-law caught hold of my parents' legs and promised not to ill-treat my sister again. Since then, he behaved with her properly, and she did never complain against him any more.

My sister Padi loved me very much like my mother. She gave me money when I went to see dramatic performances on open stage. If there was any illness in the family, my mother and sister requested my father to call a doctor. My eldest brother also loved me very much. When my first employer had beaten me severely, my eldest brother rebuked him in such a way as to be fined fifty rupees by the village council.

After marriage, I began to live in my father-in-law's house as he loved me very much. Once my father came and told me to work at my second employer's house as he had already taken advance for my marriage, and the debt had not been cleared up. So I told my wife to accompany me in my village. My wife told me that the service, I was going to take up, in order to clear up the debt, would not be financially profitable to me, and so, it would be wise for me to try for better employment. Then she said that she was not going to accompany me. On hearing this, her father advised my wife to come to our village with me, and then she accompanied me. On my return, I told my father that I was not going to serve in my previous employer's house. My father sold a plot of land and repaid the debt. My eldest brother became very angry and told me, 'Land is gone. Now how will you feed yourself, swine ?'

After sometime, my father died. The domestic duties were distributed among the inmates of the house. My wife told me, 'We are only two people but we are to work for the whole family. So it is better to live separately.' She also complained that my eldest brother had rebuked her, and so, she was not going to take even a drop of water in the house. So I constructed a separate hut and began to live there. After four or five days, my brother demolished the hut and told me, 'As long as I am on this earth, you will have to live with me.' As the house was demolished, my wife rebuked my brother severely. I was very much perturbed and told my wife that I was not going to live with

her any longer as she had insulted my brother. So saying, I left the house and went to my maternal uncle's place at Narayangarh. I requested my uncle to arrange another marriage for me. My uncle replied that as I had a wife, I should not marry again. However, I settled my marriage with the divorced daughter of a widow, and the *sanga* (marriage with a divorced woman) was duly performed, and I began to live with her.

After sometime, I heard that my eldest brother was seriously ill, and so, I returned to Keshiari with my new wife. On seeing me, my brother began to cry and told me, 'Why you have married again, when you have got an industrious wife ?' On hearing my brother's words, I told my second wife to return to Narayangarh as I wanted to dissolve my marriage with her. My wife answered, 'I wished to be adorned with a flower and I adorned it. Now I shall have to throw it away (It means I liked you so we were married. Now I shall have to leave you.)' I escorted her to Narayangarh. There she told me, 'If I live with you then you might be poisoned by your first wife, so it is better to be separated.' Then I bade adieu to her and returned home.

While at Keshiari, I met my first wife Hariprya in the market. She enquired about my health and told me why I was looking so ill. When the market was over, I returned to Kukai with my sister (His sister was married at Kukai) and began to live in her house. During that time, Hariprya often visited me and enquired about my future activities. One day, she told me that we could only be separated by death. As I married again, the elders of the village called the village council in order to take action against me. Hariprya attended the meeting and told the elders, 'My parents can feed me but they cannot give me mental happiness. So I am going to live with my husband.' As a result, no action was taken against me. I built a hut at my sister's place and began to live with my wife. At that time, I was about twenty or twenty-five years of age. After sometime, my sister and my wife began to quarrel with each other and my sister told my wife to leave the house. So we left and began to live at my brother-in-law's place. In this place as well, my wife and her brother began to quarrel, the reason being that my brother-in-law (Madhab) was jealous of us as we were well-off. So we decided to leave Madhab's house. In the meantime, my uncle's daughter's son told me that he had built a new hut, and we could live there. We lived there for two years. Afterwards, my uncle's daughter's son told me that he needed the house for his own use. So we decided not to live with the relatives any longer. Then I met my elder brother and in-

formed him about my troubles. He replied that if I could spend some money, then he could arrange for the purchase of a plot of land. So I and my wife began to work as labourers, collected the requisite amount, purchased a plot of land with the help of my brother, built a house, and since then, we have been living there.

May 5, 1960

The following responses were elicited after questionings:

Early Childhood

Walking: Trained by the parents.

Feeding: Upto three years, I took mother's breast, then I took raw rice. When mother went out, my elder sister used to feed me. When I accompanied the mother, I sucked mother's breast and shared her meal.

Toiletting: When I was about three or four years, my parents showed me the place for defecation, and my mother cleaned me afterwards. At the age of five or six years, I went to the field and cleaned myself in the pond.

Bathing: When I was a small child, my mother bathed me in the house. At the age of five or six years, I took my bath in the pond, and my mother accompanied me.

Sleeping: When very young, I slept with my mother. From the age of five or six years, I slept alone.

Talking: Trained by my parents.

Discipline: Parents rebuked me if I disobeyed them.

Tantrum: If mother did not give me food on demand, I broke the earthen utensils and went out of the house. Then my mother escorted me back.

Late Childhood and Adolescence

I began to use loin cloth from the age of five or six years. Parents told me to do so. From the age of ten or eleven years, I used napkin and cloth.

Food: As I was employed, I took my meals thrice in the employer's house.

Play : While employed as a cowherd, I played with other boys in the field while attending my duties. Once while playing *hadudu,* a stone was thrown on my forehead by another boy, and I was seriously wounded. The father of the boy who hit me, offered some money to my father, and so, there was no litigation.

Discipline : If I did not look after cattle properly, then my employer beat me. Once, one of my cattle grazed on another man's field, and so, it was put into a pound by him. When my employer learnt about it, he rebuked and beat me severely, and so, I left his house and went to my sister's place. I did not return to my own house as I was afraid of being beaten by my father for my negligence in work.

Sex : At the age of ten or twelve years, I approached a girl for immoral purpose. The brother of the girl told my father about this incident, and as a result, I was beaten by him. I had also several sexual affairs at that time.

Aggression : Occasionally, I quarrelled with my wife. Once, after my marriage, I was rebuked by a man as my cow grazed in his field. I was so much enraged that I had beaten him.

Stealing : After my marriage, once I went to Keshiari and stole a goat. The people followed me and informed the village elders of this incident, and I was severely beaten by my uncle-in-law.

Adult : I was initiated as a spirit-possessed man by Hari. I have been initiated as such, becuase I want to cure people as well as to drive evil spirits.

I work as a labourer and collect honey from the forest. I also earn five to six rupees a year by acting as a spirit-possessed man. (Then he narrated a dream) *I dreamt that a monkey came to eat me. Associations : Banar-Bir Hanuman.* I fought with the Bir (spirit). This dream reveals his ambivalent feelings towards the spirits, he worships.

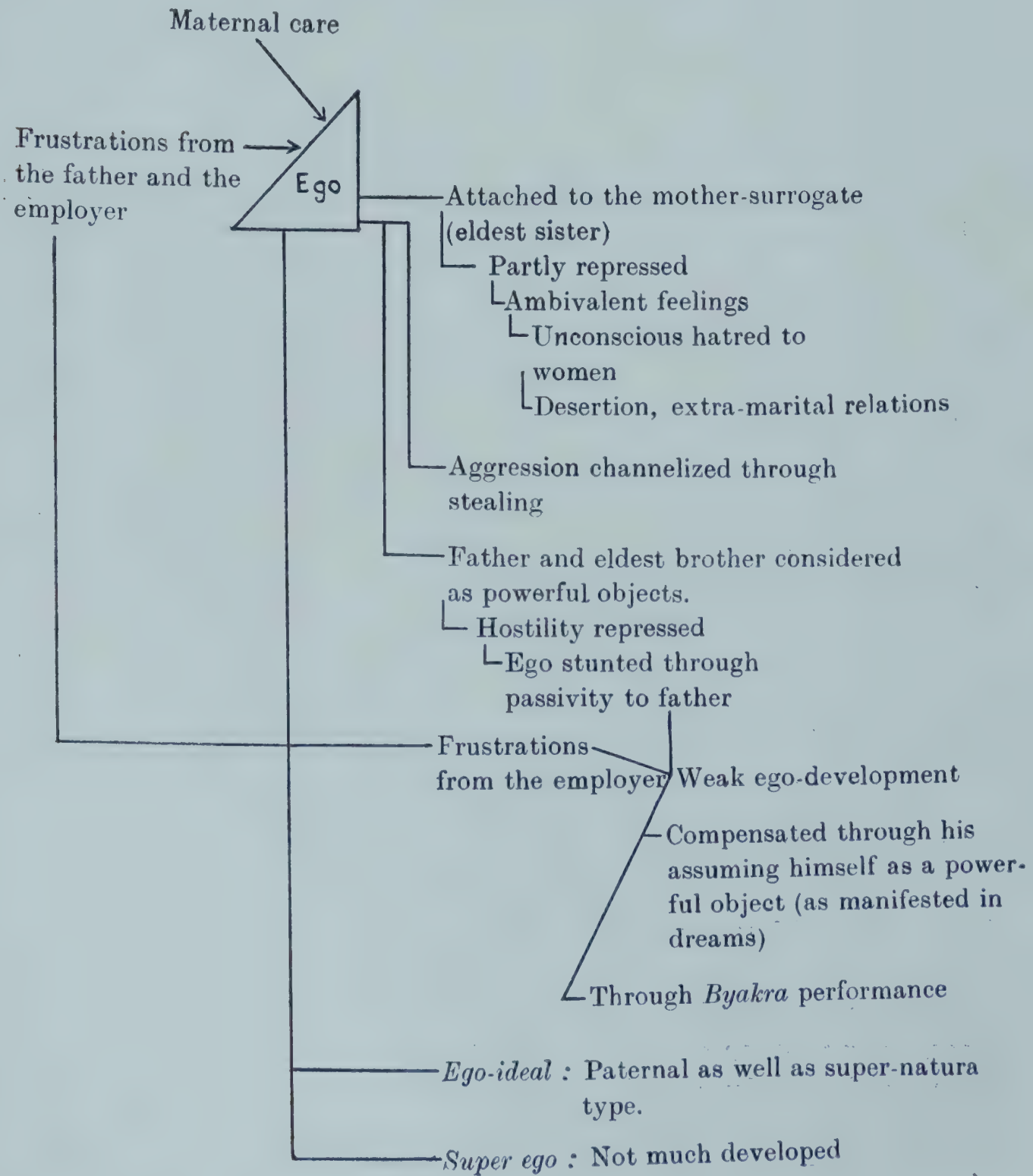
Analysis of Mahendra's Life History

He has mentioned that his mother and elder sister loved him most. His mother often quarrelled with his father on his account. He was definitely attached to his mother. It appears that this attachment is repressed as he has shown ambivalent feelings to-

wards women which has given rise to unconscious hatred towards them. This has been examplified by his extra-marital relations as well as desertion involving his first and second wife.

His father advised him to marry. He took advance from the employer and got himself married. As he refused to be employed again, in order to square up the advance money, his father sold his agricultural land and paid the debt. All these helped to develop a strong attachment to his father. He also looked upon his father as a powerful object, because he was a strict disciplinarian. It is also evident from the life history record that he had to marry because his father ordered him to do so. His eldest brother helped him in many ways, and so, he was also considered by him as a paternal surrogate.

Mahendra's Ego Structure


Maternal care
Frustrations from the father and the employer
Ego
Attached to the mother-surrogate (eldest sister)
Partly repressed
Ambivalent feelings
Unconscious hatred to women
Desertion, extra-marital relations
Aggression channelized through stealing
Father and eldest brother considered as powerful objects.
Hostility repressed
Ego stunted through passivity to father
Frustrations from the employer
Weak ego-development
Compensated through his assuming himself as a powerful object (as manifested in dreams)
Through Byakra performance
Ego-ideal : Paternal as well as super-natura type.
Super ego : Not much developed

Due to frustrations from his employer, he has developed a weak ego which appears to be stunted by the powerful father-imago. However, this weak ego-devolopment has been compensated by his thinking himself as a powerful object, and this has been manifested in his dream, depicting his fight with a spirit, his guardian spirit, whom he worships as a spirit-possessed man. His *Byakra* performance also shows the presence of a compensatory tendency due to weak ego-development.

His ego-ideal is of paternal as well as supernatural type. Supernatural beings as well as his father are wielders of great power to him ; they are hated as well as admired. He fought with the spirit in dream and with his father in real life.

His super ego appears to be not much developed as evidenced from the fact that though he threatened to leave his wife, as she rebuked his brother, he did not hesitate to steal or to engage himself in extra-marital relations. However, the tonicity of his super ego was maintained by his eldest brother who was not only a staunch disciplinarian but was also an affectionate brother.

Govardhan

X Jagneshwar	X Nepal	O Malati
X Kishori-O.....	O Gnanada	O Shibani
O Umeshi	X Govardhan-O Radha....	X Mangal
		X Sukumar

April 22, 1960

I was looked after by my mother. At the age of four or five years, I went to a school. I was there for about three months. Then I left school as my father thought to utilize me in domestic work. At the age of four or five years, I was appointed as a cow-herd in the house of one Sahu babu. I worked there for two or three years and then left. After sometime, I again went to his house and worked there for ten years. Once what happened was that while working at his house, I came to my house in the evening and could not return to my employer's house that night as my beloved Bhairabi requested me to pass the night with her. When my father and brother came to know about this incident, they became very angry and had beaten me severely. Afterwards, they decided to get myself married at an early date. In the meantime, a man of our village told me one day to accompany him to Narayangarh in order to see a bride there. I accompanied him and passed the night at my maternal uncle's house. On the following morning, I saw the girl, liked her, and on my return, I told my

father to arrange my marriage with the girl. At that time, I was seventeen or eighteen years of age. The marriage took place after a month.

(Question about his employer) As my employer beat me occasionally, I left his house often and returned home. Afterwards, my father escorted me back.

(Question about his childhood) When I was about five years old, I made friendship with Sreehari. There was a garden nearby, which was full of pineapples and jackfruits. We, two friends, decided to steal a jackfruit. We stole one and ate it. When my parents knew about this incident, they enquired how we entered the fenced garden. Then they told me that the owner of the garden might call the police and then, my father instigated by my mother, beat me severely. After this incident, I severed my friendly relation with Sreehari. I did not go to him for four or five months. Afterwards, I again made friendship with him and went with him to kill rats with bows and arrows.

When I was a small child, my parents, especially my mother went out for work, and I was looked after by my elder sister. Both my mother and sister, especially the former loved me most. I was initiated as a spirit-possessed man by my preceptor Hari Bhakta.

Early Childhood (Questions)

Walking: My parents trained me in walking as well as I learnt it by my own efforts.

Feeding: I took by mother's breast upto two or three years. I also ate rice, and there was no fixed time for taking food. When the parents went out for work, they took me with them. In the place of work, I sucked my mother's breast and also took puffed rice, supplied by the employer to my parents. When remained in the house, my elder sister took care of me.

Toilet Training: When a small child, I eased myself here and there. There was no fixed time for toiletting. At the age of three or four years, my mother showed me the place for defecation. Generally, I used to defecate in the field and cleaned myself in the pond.

Bathing: When a small child, my mother bathed me in the

house. As I grew older, my mother took me to the pond and in her absence, my sister helped me in taking bath.

Sleeping: When very young, I slept with my mother. Afterwards, I slept with my father and mother alternately. From the age of six or seven years, I slept wherever I would find a suitable place.

Talking: Trained by the parents.

Discipline: My parents punished me if I committed any wrong, such as, quarrelling and going away from the house. When I was about six years of age, I climbed up a tree and fell down. The other boys told my father about this incident. My father caught hold of me and told me, 'You go out in the morning and climb up the trees. If you fall down, you may die. So don't do such things again.'

Tantrum: When annoyed with the mother, as for example, if I asked for something and the request was not complied with, I fell on the ground and began to cry. Then my mother took me from the ground and caressed me. She even sang songs in order to pacify me.

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of six or seven years, I used loin cloth at my own initiative as well as my parents also told me to do so.

Food: During this period, I was employed as a cowherd. I took my meals at my employer's house. In the morning, I took puffed rice, whereas, I ate rice, fish and vegetables during my mid-day and evening meals. Generally, the employer offered me whatever he took.

Play Privilege: While employed as a cowherd, I played in the field as there was no opportunity of playing elsewhere.

Aggression: Once what happened was that I came home one evening and then went to the field to play *hadudu*. I had a big quarrel with another boy, and then we began to beat each other. Then my father came and took me home.

Adolescence (Question)

At the age of ten or twelve years, I used napkin. During this

period, I learnt ploughing, mowing, harvesting and similar other activities.

Romance and Sex : At the age of sixteen or seventeen, I fell in love with a girl of our village. She requested me to keep her as a kept and wanted some money in exchange of this favour. I used to give her two or three rupees per month as well as other presents. After sometime, people of the village came to know about it, and so, my father arranged my marriage, and I married.

Jealousy : When I doubted that my beloved was perhaps running after other people, I quarrelled with her and often threatened her to beat if such things were pursued.

Adult (Question)

At present, my earnings lie on land produce as well as on my work as a labourer. In the past, this income was supplemented by stealing and dacoity. Once before the famine, I, with Rakshit and three other men, went to a nearby village for dacoity. On arriving at our destination at about mid-night, we broke the door and stole some maunds of rice. On another occasion during the great famine, I, with my elder brother and another man, went to a paddy field of a nearby village at night to cut paddy. As we did not apprehend any trouble, we began to cut paddy. As a matter of fact, we did not know that people were watching us. When two bags were filled, we noticed that some people were approaching us. We took to our heels with two bags, but where to go ? We were at that time surrounded by people. One man struck on the head of my brother, and he fell down. However, I, with the other man, fought our way out and escaped. My brother did not divulge our identity, and so, we were not caught by the police. My brother was jailed for three months.

My prestige as a spirit-possessed man is not such as before. I think that it is the doctors who are responsible for our miseries. People do not call us as frequently as before, and our earnings from this profession are comparatively less.

I am in domestic troubles and often quarrel with my wife. Once I beat my wife so severely that she remained in bed for about four days.

I often dream : *An elephant comes to my house, as if, to knock it down, and I get very much frightened. The animal in-*

serts his trunk through the door, as if, to catch me. He only touches my neck and goes away. Associations: Elephant-trunk—When the elephant comes, my house remains unclean..it is always unclean..I feel sorry and unhappy for this uncleanliness..if the house would remain clean, I would be relieved of my unhappiness..the house is unclean, because my younger son makes it unclean, and so, I am in trouble, that is, the elephant is catching me and then leaving me.

It appears that this dream releases his guilt feelings. He thinks himself unclean, and so he is unhappy. Moreover, he is being threatened by his super ego.

Analysis of Govardhan's Life History

Maternal care appears to be above the average. He has also stated that his mother, loved him most, and he was no doubt strongly attached to the mother, and at the same time, he was jealous of her, which has been revealed in later life, when he manifested jealousy and displayed aggressive feelings if his beloved talked to other people. The mother also instigated his father to punish him for his misdeeds, and this is likely to develop a repressed hatred feelings towards her, which has been manifested in his dealings towards his wife.

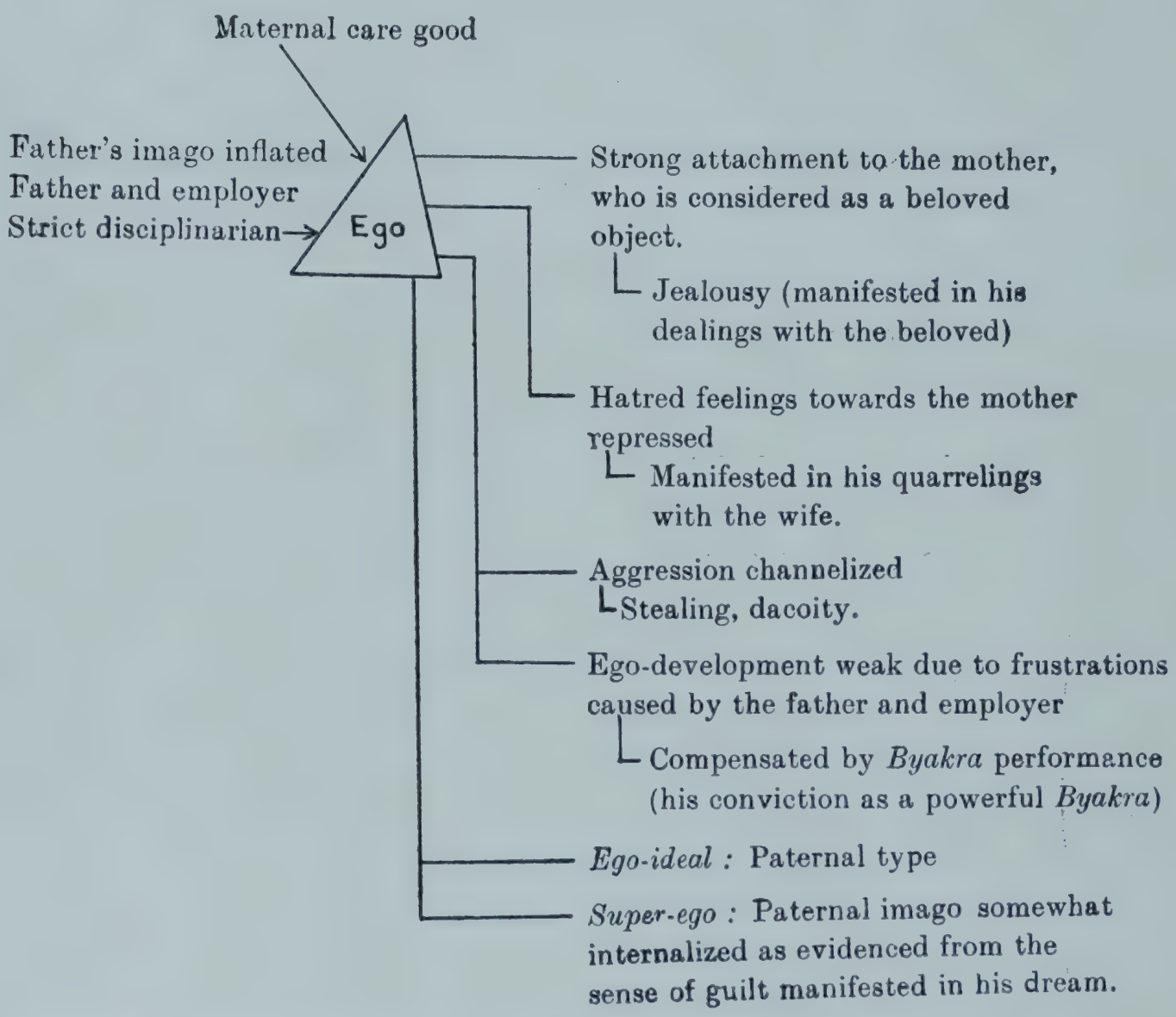
His father as well as the employer was strict disciplinarian. Once when he was four or five years of age, he stole a jackfruit and was severely beaten by his father. Even when he was a young man of sixteen or seventeen years, he was punished with physical violence by his father for his love affair. On the other hand, it appears that these activities have given rise to aggression and hatred feelings towards the father, which are likely to be partly canalized through stealing and dacoity. On the other hand, in such circumstances, the ego cannot develop properly. However, his weak ego-development has been compensated by his *Byakra* performance which is a great source of power to him. It is also evidenced from the fact that once he boasted to the author (Ref: chapter on fore-telling the future) that he correctly predicted about the existence of a *Jaksha* in the house of a Namasudra.

His father being a strict disciplinarian was looked on by him as a powerful object, and hence, his ego-ideal leans to paternal type with vague supernatural inclination.

His dream reveals that he thinks himself unclean, and so, he is unhappy and also threatened by his paternal surrogate, that is,

his super ego. He felt relieved of after this dream, that is, his sense of guilt was released. His father not only rebuked and beat him but also imparted advice afterwards, and so, it seems that he has internalized his paternal imago to some extent, and hence, his super ego may be considered as somewhat developed.

Govardhan's Ego Structure


Maternal care good
Father's imago inflated
Father and employer
Strict disciplinarian
Ego
Strong attachment to the mother, who is considered as a beloved object.
Jealousy (manifested in his dealings with the beloved)
Hatred feelings towards the mother repressed
Manifested in his quarrelings with the wife.
Aggression channelized
Stealing, dacoity.
Ego-development weak due to frustrations caused by the father and employer
Compensated by Byakra performance (his conviction as a powerful Byakra)
Ego-ideal : Paternal type
Super-ego : Paternal imago somewhat internalized as evidenced from the sense of guilt manifested in his dream.

Hari Bhkata, the Head Spirit-possessed Man

X Meghu	X Hem	X Joyti
X Shambu—O Sarada.....	X Hari—O Mukshmada....	X Amulya
X Rabi	X Abinash	X Bejoy
X Kartik	X Harindar	O Banshi
O Gurubani	O Rasa	

April 24, 1960

I took my mother's breast upto a year. At the age of five or six years, when my mother went out for work, I was left in the care of my elder brother who loved me very much and used to carry me here and there. When I was grown-up, I looked after my younger siblings. I played with the children of my uncles. When we quarrelled, and I took recourse to physlcal violence, my

uncle Rabi punished me. My parents did not interfere. It was my uncle's fear of punishment that in later life, I did not quarrel with any body.

At the age of five or six years, I was employed as a cowherd in the house of Govinda babu. I and all my brothers worked there. We married when employed in his house. Babu loved me very much and had never beaten me. When I forgot to do any work, he simply rebuked me. I was married at the age of about fourteen years. My employer arranged my marriage. Formerly, we lived in Shakepara village. We left it because we could not procure any land.

When I was sixteen or seventeen years of age, some snake charmers came to our village. They remained in the village for about fifteen days. I enquired whether they could offer me some incantations. I wanted to learn charm as there were many members in the family, and in case of spirit-possession or disease, I might be of help to them by curing the afflicted. Then I learnt incantations from the leader of the snake charmers on condition that I would never divulge it to anyone. My preceptor, before his departure from the village, told me that I would be a famous spirit-possessed man and the people would regard me.

(When questioned to narrate some dreams, he said that he had forgotten all his dreams. However, he mentioned two dreams, and before narrating them, he said that if one dreams a bullock, then the intertpretation is that the deity Sitala has come with her bag, full of jerms of diseases. In other words, the village people may be attacked with cholera, small-pox, etc. The natural outcome of such a dream is that the people generally worship the deity and requests her through offerings, not to visit the village.)

I can remember two dreams : (1) *A certain man was suffering. Spirit-possessed men were called, and the man was saved. Associations :* If the guardian of the patient would come earlier to the spirit-possessed man then he need not spend so much money on medicine.....doctors were not able to cure him. When the spirit-possessed men were called, they cured him. (2) *A certain man died (actually a man died and he was called afterwards) and the spirits and Sitala rebuked me in my dream for not attending the case in time. They said that if I went there in time then the man might have been saved. Associations :* Why he died, why the patient was not shown to any doctor, why he did not go in time and why he was not called ? (He was morose and grieved over this incident.)

The first dream reveals his great faith on his performance as a spirit-possessed man. The second dream reveals his sense of guilt. He has been rebuked by his guardian spirits and Sitala, his supernatural parental surrogates, for his negligence in discharging his obligations as a spirit-possessed man.

Early Childhood (Question)

Walking: I learnt it at my own initiative. However, my mother also helped me. When I went to take my mother's breast, she helped me to get up by catching hold of my hand. She also helped me to dance.

Food: I took my mother's breast upto one year. When my parents went to the market, they purchased biscuits, lozenges and so on for me. At the age of about four years, I took only rice. When my parents went out, my elder brother used to feed me. During this period, there was no fixed time for feeding. Whenever I felt hungry, I took my meal.

Toiletting: When I was a small child, I used to defecate here and there. When a bit older, my parents showed me the place for toiletting.

Bath: At the age of three or four years, my parents and in their absence, my elder brother took me to the pond and helped me in taking bath.

Sleeping: In early age, I slept with my mother. I followed this practice upto four or five years of age. Sometimes what happened was that I slept on my dining seat after dinner and my mother carried me on to the bed. At the age of six or seven years, I slept separately.

Talking: I learnt it by imitation.

Discipline: When quarrelled with other boys and girls, my father rebuked me, but my mother used to beat me occasionally. Both of them gave me advice afterwards. They said, 'Don't go outside, remain in the house.' After punishing me, my parents used to caress me.

Tantrum: When I was annoyed, that is, when asked the mother to give me rice, and the request was not complied with, I cried and rolled on the ground. My mother took me on her lap

and said, 'My precious darling, you are a good boy.' Then she took me to the dining seat and gave me food. As I remained annoyed, I spoiled the food. Then my mother took recourse to physical violence, and then, caressed me again.

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of five or six years, I used loin cloth. My mother told me once, 'You have become a grown up boy. So why don't you wear a loin cloth ? When I was seven or eight years old, I used napkin. At that time, I was employed as a cowherd.

Play : I played marble, *hadudu,* etc. If any one would beat me, I would also beat him but I did never take the initiative. When I was beaten, I left the place. If I returned to play on the next day, they told me, 'Your are a bad boy, we are not going to include you in the game.' Then I returned home. Afterwards, they came to take me back but I did not return to play. When I quarrelled with boys, their mother complained to my mother who rebuked me. I also quarrelled with her on this issue and left the house.

Discipline : Once I and some other boys wanted to steal mangoes from a garden. When engaged in stealing, the owner of the garden caught us red-handed and complained to my father, and I was beaten by him severely. My mother intervened and told my father, 'Why are you beating a grown up boy ?' Then my parents quarrelled, and my father told my mother that he was not going to keep me in the house any longer. After sometime, I was employed as a cowherd. When I was young, my parents did not beat me much as they were afraid that I and my brothers might run away.

Sex : I had no love affair. Several girls approached me but I rejected them saying :

'Woman, Woman, I don't believe in you
As you are as treacherous as a buffalo.'

I thought that if I ran after girls then I had to spend money, and subsequently, I might take recourse to stealing. Moreover, I had to loose virility. Once, when I was in the employer's house, a girl was enarmoured of me and stole my cloth. She agreed to return it if I slept with her. I refused the proposal and informed

the employer about the incident. Then my employer advised me to get myself married otherwise the people would think bad of me. I was not inclined to marry as I thought that it would be difficult to maintain a wife. So I thought that there was no need of encounterng troubles by marrying. However, I had to marry and then shifted to Kukai.

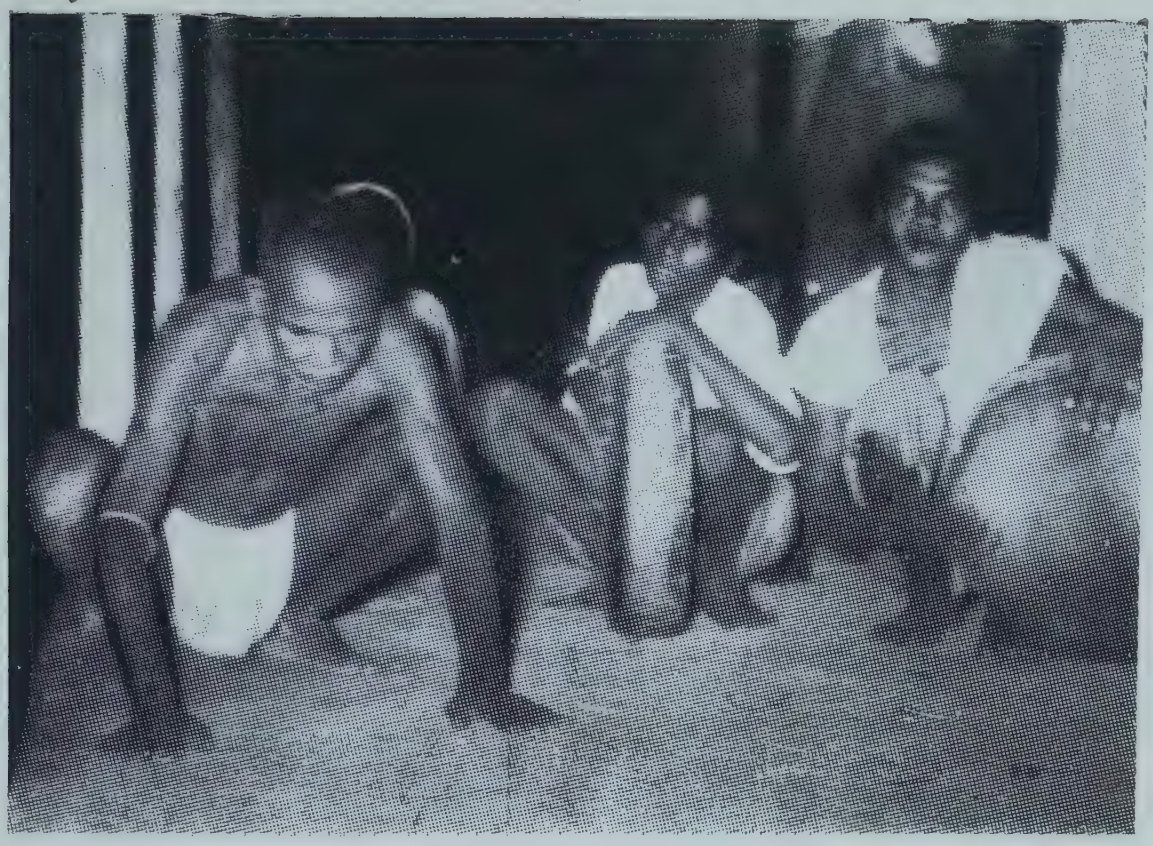
Adult : I have got only two *bighas* of land and so, I cannot pull on with that. My income is supplemented by working as a labourer and acting as spirit-possessed and medicine-man. Even four or five years ago, I had great prestige as a spirit-possessed man and commanded great respect among the people. They used to call me in disease, in spirit-possession and in epidemic. When I predicted, they believed it. Now those days are gone.

Analysis of Hari's Life History

His father was not as strict a disciplinarian as his uncle. His father had beaten him rarely and gave him advice after punishment. It appears that the father imago has been inflated. His mother loved him very much, and he was very much inclined to the mother. She also acted as a frustrating agent. She was a strict disciplinarian in comparison with his father. She had beaten him often and refused even the food. These activities have given rise to inhibition towards women in later life. He hated women in general as he was afraid to loose his virility by sex relations with them.

Frustrations caused by his mother and to some extent by his uncle did not contribute much to the formation of his ego. However, his ego-development has been compensated by his strong belief in himself as a powerful spirit-possessed man as manifested in his first dream.

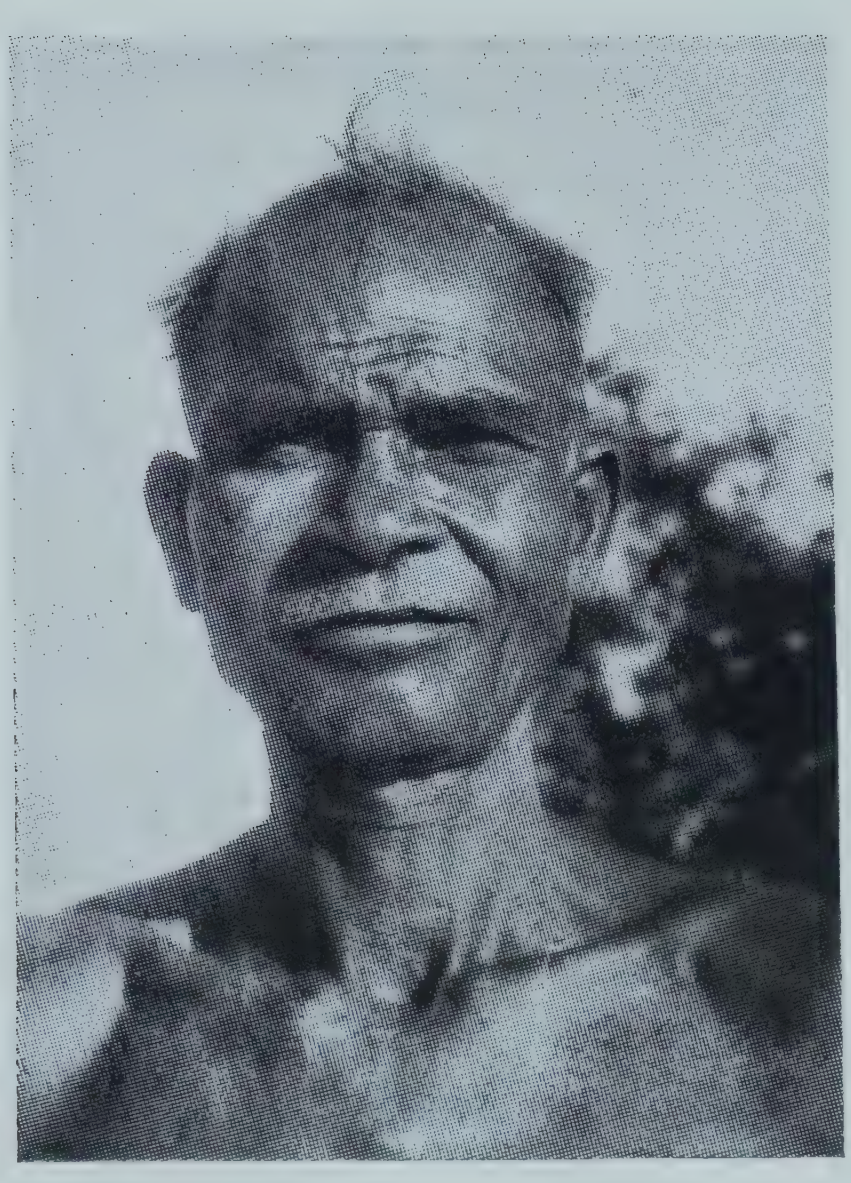
His paternal type of ego-ideal has been projected into supernatural beings as revealed in his second dream, when he was rebuked by the spirits and Sitala (supernatural parental surrogates) for not curing a man. This dream also depicts his sense of guilt. He felt morose as he thought that he did not discharge his duties as a spirit-possessed man. His super ego appears to be comparatively well developed than the average Lodha. This has been manifested in his second dream as well as in his behaviour towards women. Hari's ego structure has been presented below.



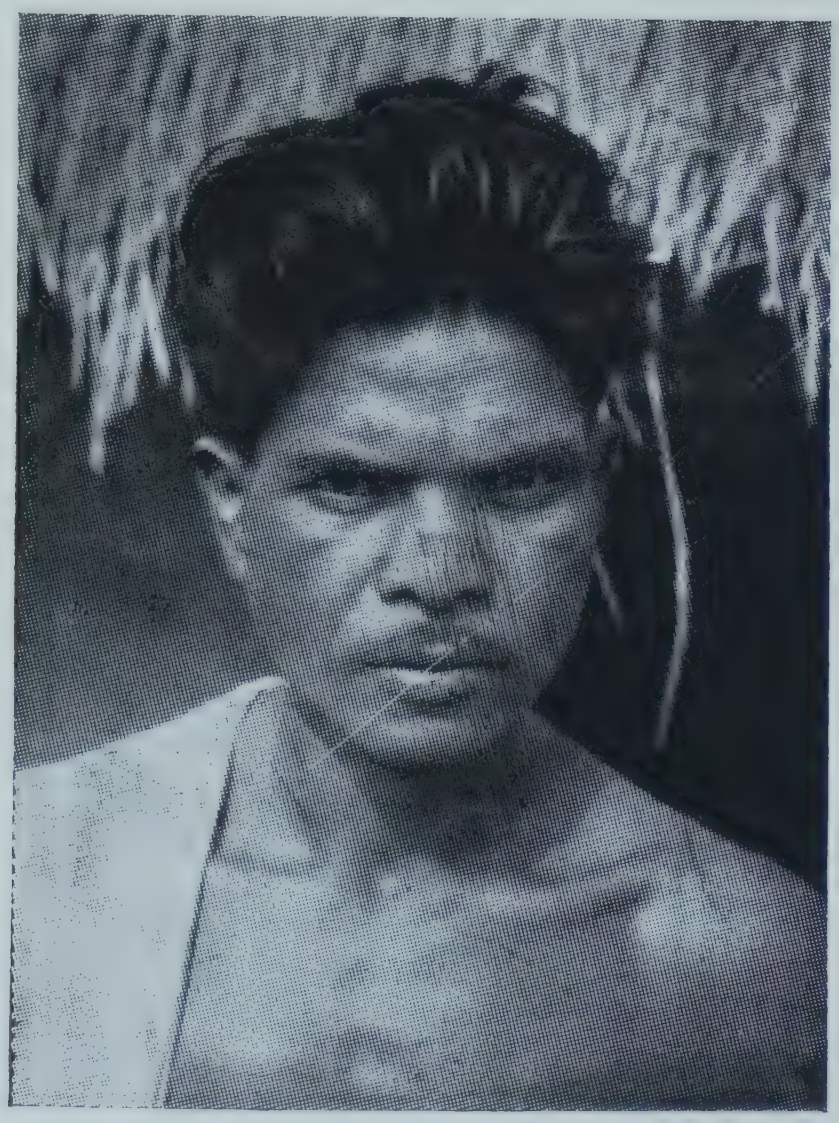
Hari predicting future events during *Sitala* worship

Performance of spirit-possessed man during illness

A spirit-possessed man in deep trance

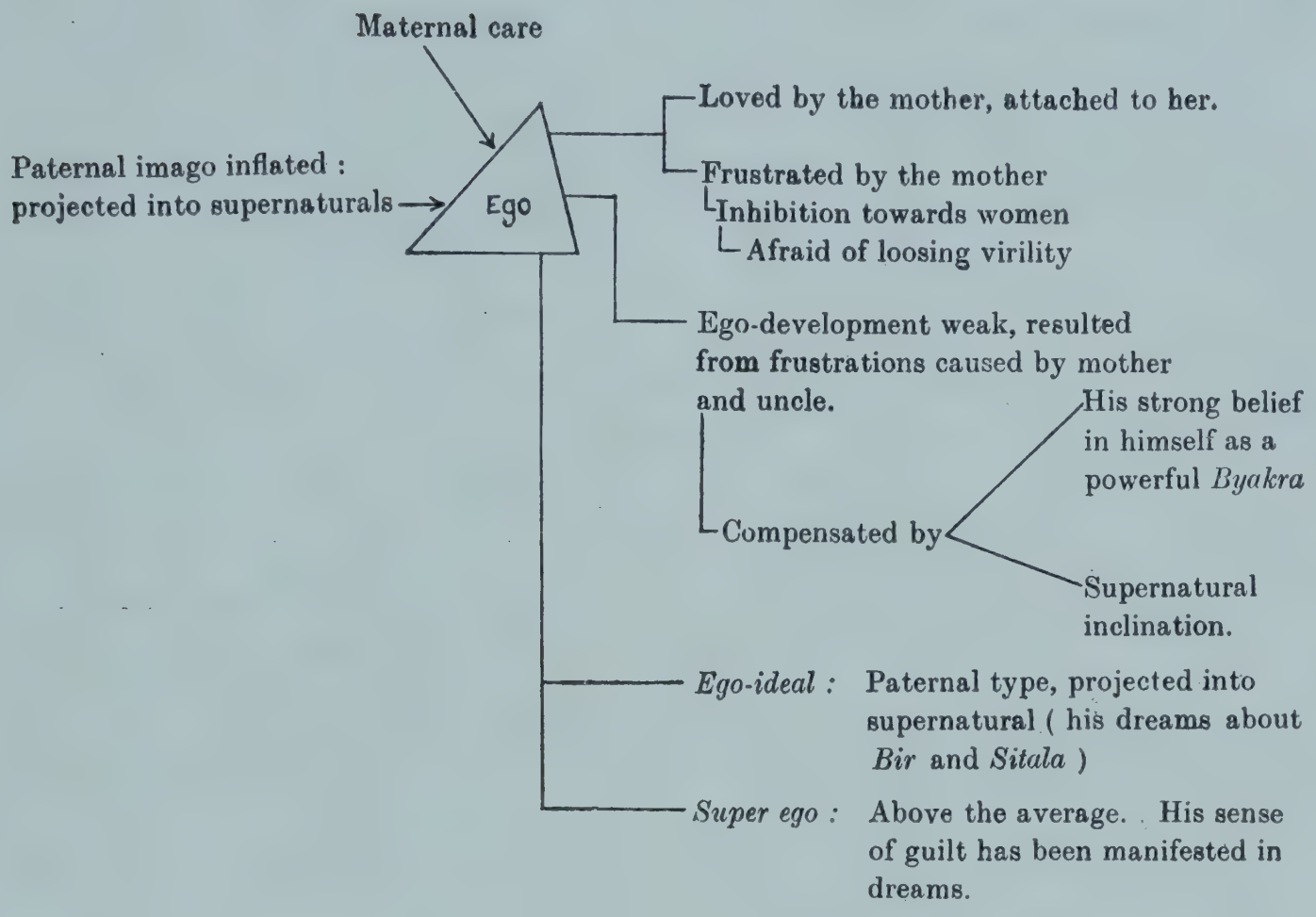


Hari :
The head spirit-possessed man



Madhab :
a typical Lodha

Hari's Ego Structure


Maternal care
Paternal imago inflated : projected into supernaturals
Ego
Loved by the mother, attached to her.
Frustrated by the mother
Inhibition towards women
Afraid of loosing virility
Ego-development weak, resulted from frustrations caused by mother and uncle.
Compensated by
His strong belief in himself as a powerful Byakra
Supernatural inclination.
Ego-ideal : Paternal type, projected into supernatural (his dreams about Bir and Sitala)
Super ego : Above the average. His sense of guilt has been manifested in dreams.

Govinda

	X Nandi	X Nagen
X Sreenath—O Nimi.....	O Kamini	X Baren
	X Govinda—O Ananta.....	X Biren
		X ....
		O Khu

August 3, 1960

When my father died, I was about seven or eight years old. At that time, I was employed as a cowherd in the house of another Lodha of our village. I slept as well as took my night meal at my house. I was paid sixty rupees a year and also took my morning and mid-day meals at his house. I served there for three years. When, not attending my work properly or committing any mistake, the employer rebuked me and even beat me, and in such circumstances, I, generally, returned home without taking any meal. However, on the next day, I attended my job. My mother never rebuked me. After serving for nearly three years, I left the place and remained home. During this period, I worked as a labourer along with the other members of the family.

In this way, we were pulling on somehow or other. When I was nearly twenty years old, one man from Khejur Kuthi came to our village and told me that I could marry his sister's daughter if I worked in his sister's house for a year. I agreed and went

to Khejur Kuthi. (When questioned whether he consulted his mother, he remained silent for a few seconds and then answered in the affirmative.) I remained in the house of the girl and began to work there. After my marriage, I remained there for another year and then returned home with my wife. My mother and my wife used to quarrel but I did not interfere. (He misrepresented the fact, because due to such quarrellings, he has been living separately from his mother since then. His mother is now very old and maintain herself by begging.)

Before my marriage, when I was about eighteen years old, I wanted to be a spirit-possessed man. (Question, why he wanted to be such) I thought that if people were possessed by ghost then I would be able to cure them. I approached Ramnath for initiation. He agreed and said, 'I am not going to live for ever, so if I don't initiate people, then how can this tradition be preserved ?' Then I was initiated as a spirit-possessed man. He was a better spirit-possessed man than Hari. I took seven days to learn it. (His son Nagen is also a spirit-possessed man. He learnt it from Hari. So he was questioned why he himself did not initiate his son.) A preceptor should not initiate his own son, so I sent him to Hari. If he failed then I would certainly initiate him.

(The author thinks that this is not the real reason, for when he requested Govinda to initiate him in exchange of some money, he flatly refused and advised the author to go to Hari.)

Early Childhood (Question)

Toilet Training : When I was a small child, I eased myself here and there, and my mother cleaned me. When I was grown up, I went out as instructed by my mother and cleaned myself in the pond.

Bathing : I was helped by my mother at my early age. Afterwards, I went to the pond and took my bath alone.

Sleeping : I slept with my mother upto five or six years of age.

Discipline : My mother rebuked and even beat me for disobedience and misbehaviour. My father never rebuked me.

Tantrum : When beaten by the mother, I did not show any tantrum. I simply left the house, and my mother escorted me back

after prolonged searching. (He remarked that his mother loved him when he was young but after his marriage, she never loved him.)

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of six or seven years, I used loin cloth and napkin.

Play : I played with other boys. If I played and did not attend work, then my mother beat me and turned me out of the house.

Adolescence (Question) : I did not approach any girl.

ANALYSIS OF GOVINDA'S LIFE HISTORY

This is a very impoverished life history, so it is difficult to analyse the ego-structure properly.

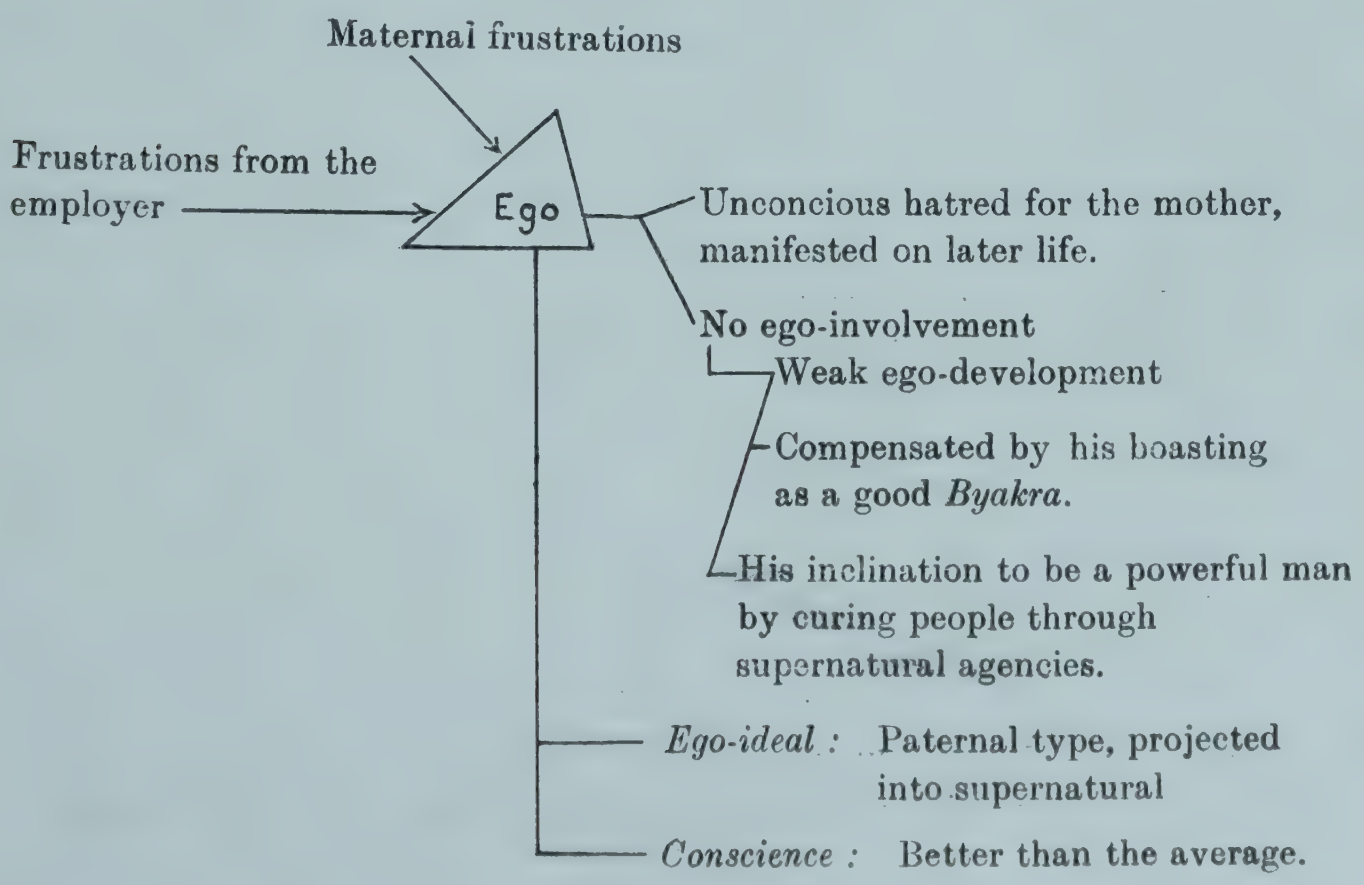
The mother was a strict disciplinarian when compared to the father. Hatred towards the mother had been repressed and later on manifested in his dealings with her.

Frustrations caused by the mother and the employer have contributed to a weak ego-development, which has been partly compensated by (i) his boasting as an efficient spirit-possessed man and (ii) his inclination to be a powerful man by curing people through supernatural agencies.

His father did not rebuke him, and it appears that his ego-ideal leans to paternal type, which has been projected to supernaturals.

He denied the existence of romance in his life, and there is no evidence of stealing and dacoity in his record, and so, it seems that his conscience is better than the average.

Gobinda's Ego Structure


Maternal frustrations
Frustrations from the employer
Ego
Unconcious hatred for the mother, manifested on later life.
No ego-involvement
Weak ego-development
Compensated by his boasting as a good Byakra.
His inclination to be a powerful man by curing people through supernatural agencies.
Ego-ideal : Paternal type, projected into supernatural
Conscience : Better than the average.

Nagen

April 24, 1960

(He is the son of Govinda) Upto the age of five or six years, I remained home. I took mother's breast unto two years. When my parents went out for work, I was taken by my mother in her place of work. When my sister was five or six years of age, she was left in the house under my care. I looked after her and cooked food for members of the family.

At the age of six or seven years, I was employed as a cowherd and served my employer for about ten years. I worked there during the day and slept in my house at night. When I took rest, my employer rebuked me but he had never beaten me. After leaving his employment, I attended agricultural work at my home. Once my father told me to thrash corn but I forgot to comply with his request. So my father was annoyed and had beaten me severely. My mother quarrelled with my father over this matter. She loves me very much. I often visit a cinema house at Keshiari. My father says nothing but my mother rebukes me and advises me not to squander money in this way.

At the age of five or six years, I, with another boy of my same age, went to a field where flood water was accumulated and began to play there. In course of playing, we quarrelled and beat each other. When my father came to know about this incident, he rebuked us both. After that incident, I did not go out with that boy for a long time. Afterwards, we became friends again.

May 5, 1960 : Early Childhood (Question)

Walking : I was trained by my parents.

Food : I took mother's milk upto two years of my age. When parents went out for work, I was taken by them and took rice when felt hungry.

Toiletting : When I was five or six years old, my mother told me to go to the field for defecation. There was no fixed time for toiletting.

Bathing : When young, my mother bathed me. At about three or four years of age, I was taken to the pond by my mother. From the age of five or six years, I went to the pond and took my bath.

Sleeping : When young, I slept with my mother. Afterwards, I slept with my father and continued this practice upto seven or eight years of my age.

Discipline : At the age of five or six years, I was rebuked by the parents for misbehaviour. My mother only rebuked me but my father often took recourse to physical violence and my mother separated us.

Tantrum : When annoyed, I threw the things away.

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of five or six years, I used loin cloth. Parents, especially my mother advised me to wear loin cloth.

Food Training : From the sixth year, I used to take meal separately. Mother instructed me to take my meals properly.

Play Privilege : I played with marble, also participated in *hadudu* games. I also went on hunting with other boys. Once I went on hunting and returned home a bit late, and so, my father was annoyed and beat me severely.

Discipline : At the age of about nine years, I went out with some other boys for loitering. So when I returned, my father punished me.

Sex : Upto the age of five or six, I played with girls.

Aggression : I often quarrelled with other boys during games.

Adolescence (Question)

At the age of ten or twelve, I used napkin. During this time, I was employed as a cowherd. Once when I was returning home from my work, accompanied by two other persons of my village, my companions advised me to be initiated as a spirit-possessed man. I expressed my desire to my father who advised me to be initiated by Hari. (Question : why he wanted to be a spirit-possessed man) I wanted to be such as the spirit-possessed men are not possessed by evil spirits. Moreover, I can cure people

and I am also fascinated by the performance of the spirit-possessed men.

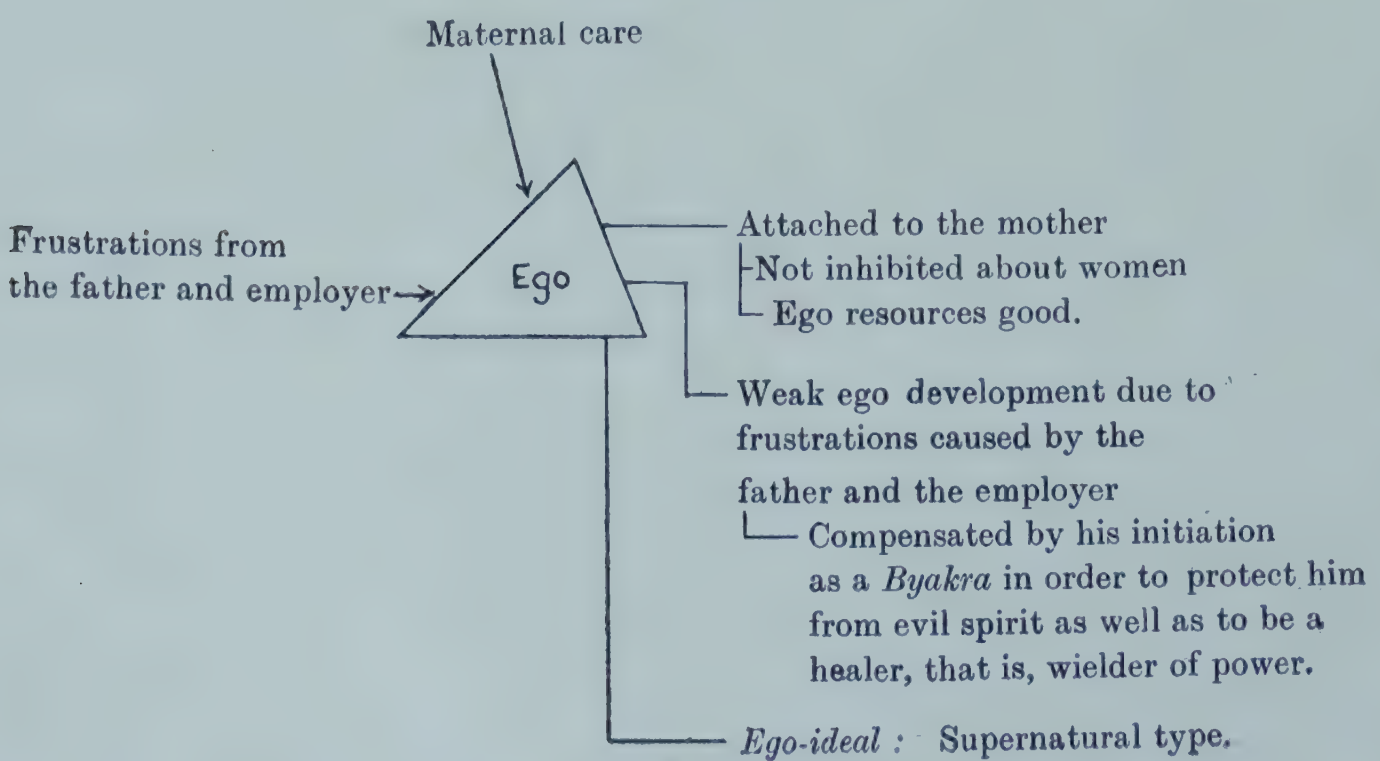
Romance : After leaving the employment as a cowherd, I fell in love with a woman of our village. However, the girl was subsequently married elsewhere. Still now the girl comes to my house, and so, the village people have complained to my father about my love affair with her. Now my father is arranging my marriage.

Analysis of Nagen's Life History

This is another impoverished life history. In comparison with other people, he has received good maternal care, and as such, he is attached to his mother and has not shown inhibition towards women. His ego-resources are comparatively good but due to paternal frustrations, usual development of his ego appears to be comparatively weak.

Once when returning home from the house of his employer who was also rude to him, he met some people of his village and they all decided to be spirit-possessed men. He wanted to be initiated as a spirit-possessed man, because he wanted to protect himself from evil spirits (to protect him from the father as well as the employer who acts as paternal surrogate). He also wanted to be a healer, that is, wielder of power through supernatural agencies. So it appears that his ego-ideal leans to supernatural type.

Nagen's Ego Structure


Maternal care
Frustrations from the father and employer
Ego
Attached to the mother
Not inhibited about women
Ego resources good.
Weak ego development due to frustrations caused by the father and the employer
Compensated by his initiation as a Byakra in order to protect him from evil spirit as well as to be a healer, that is, wielder of power.
Ego-ideal : Supernatural type.

Life Histories of the Typical People : Ramchandra, the Headman

X Sreenath
X Kunja—O Nayani..... X Tithu
X Sithu
X Futhi
X Ramchandra—O Tubri... X Jagneshwar
—O Mangli..O Jamini
X Bhagirath
X Sarhi O Malina
O....

April 4, 1960

At the age of five, I was employed as a cowherd in the house of Sreehari babu. He never loved me but rebuked me on and often. When I made any mistake, and it was not unlikely for a boy of my age, he used to beat me even. Then I fled and returned home. When I was very young, my father died, and so, I had to serve. When I came home from the house of the employer, my brothers enquired what had happened, then rebuked me, and then advised me to stay at home. My mother did not rebuke me. She often told my brothers that if my father would remain alive, he would not permit me to be employed at such a tender age. Then my elder brothers went to the house of the employer and rebuked him for his ill-treatment towards me. Then the employer came to our house, told me sweet things, and escorted me back to his house.

When the employer rebuked me, I often retaliated by rebuking him. I was in the house of the employer for five or six years. At the age of about twelve years when I was trained in ploughing, I left his place and took employment elsewhere. My second employer loved me very much. He offered me food four or five times a day, and even sent my meal to the field. As he paid me less in comparison with others, I left him after serving for sometime and remained home. While at home, I attended ploughing, worked as a labourer and also performed other domestic duties.

At the age of fifteen or sixteen, I fell in love with a girl of Narayangarh (His ancestral home was at Narayangarh). I was with her upto her marriage. I also visited her often after her marriage. Then I got married. I left my ancestral home as I inherited my father-in-law's property at Kukai. While at Narayangarh, the people of my village told my brothers about my love affair. They also hinted that this might lead to a quarrel with

the aggrieved husband. However, when my wife came to know about this incident, she rebuked me severely. I told her that the matter was finished, and after that, I bade good-bye to my beloved. For two or three years, my wife remained suspicious about my movement, and whenever I went out, she thought that I was going to my beloved, and she always rebuked me on my return. However, in order to avoid altercations, I left home at that time. My wife was a very industrious woman. She kept the house always in order. I lived with her for about fifteen or sixteen years, then she died and I married for the second time at the age of forty. My wife was nearly fourteen years at that time. (It had been informed to the author that he went to select a bride for his son. However, he liked the girl so much that instead of making her a daughter-in-law, he married her.) I often feel that I am much older to my wife.

When my parents went out for work, my eldest brother looked after me. As I had a younger brother and as I created troubles for him by sucking my mother's breast, my mother beat me often for this. If I did not behave properly then my father rebuked me but my brothers beat me often. My mother loved me most. While playing with other children, they often quarrelled with me but I did never quarrel with them.

May 5, 1960 : Early Childhood (Question)

Walkng : Parents trained me in walking by catching hold of my hands.

Feeding : I took my mother's milk upto four or five years of age. From the age of two or three years, I took rice along with breast milk. When accompanied the mother in her work, I was given mother's breast and puffed rice, supplied by the employer. When remained home, my elder brothers looked after me and feed me.

Toiletting : When very young, there was no fixed time for toiletting. At that time, I used to defecate here and there. At the age of about five years, parents instructed me to go to the field for defecation.

Bath : When young, mother helped me in taking bath. When she was out, my eldest brother helped me. At the age of four or

five years, my eldest sister-in-law stood by the side of the pond, where I took bath.

Sleeping: When young, I slept with my mother. Afterwards, I slept with my father as well as with my mother.

Talking: Parents trained me in talking.

Discipline: My father had never beaten me. My mother used to beat me rarely. When I did not act properly, my eldest brother, instigated by my mother, beat me. I was very much afraid of my eldest brother.

Tantrum: When annoyed with the parents, I threw away the things and went away. However, I was brought back by my parents and caressed by them.

May 5, 1960: Late Childhood (Question)

I used loin cloth at the age of about six years and from the age of ten or twelve years, I began to wear napkin and cloth.

Food: At the age of six years, I took my meal separately along with my father if he happened to be in the house. When I was employed as a cowherd, I took my meal thrice at the employer's house. The employer loved me very much though he beat me often. On many occasions, when beaten by the employer, I ran away and remained in the house for four or five days. My brothers rebuked me for keeping myself away from my employer's house, and then I returned.

Play Privilege: I had very little opportunity for playing when employed. However, I played when I got opportunities for recreation. Sometimes, I quarrelled with other boys, often leading to physical violence.

Adolescence (Question)

I left the employer's house as my brothers were employed elsewhere and as I thought that I should attend household duties.

Romance: While working in the house of the employer, I fell in love with a girl (this incident has already been mentioned), and so, my brothers arranged my marriage.

Adulthood (Question)

After five or six years of my marriage, my mother died, and then, my brothers began to quarrel with each other with regard to inheritance. As I got a little land as my share, I maintained myself and my wife by working as a labourer. After the death of my father-in-law, I inherited his property and settled at Kukai. My wife was also a good worker. As I had got enough land by that time, I discontinued my work as a labourer. I also helped people by giving money on loan.

My second wife did not quarrel with me before. Now she quarrels with me as I am old and financially not well-off. I am the headman of the village.

Analysis of Ramchandra's Life History

Parental care appears to be above the average. His father rebuked him very rarely and had never beaten him. His mother would beat him occasionally. Whenever he was annoyed, his parents caressed and fondled him, and as a result, he considered himself as a valued object. The treatment, meted out to him by his parents, has given rise to his self-esteem as well as ego-resources.

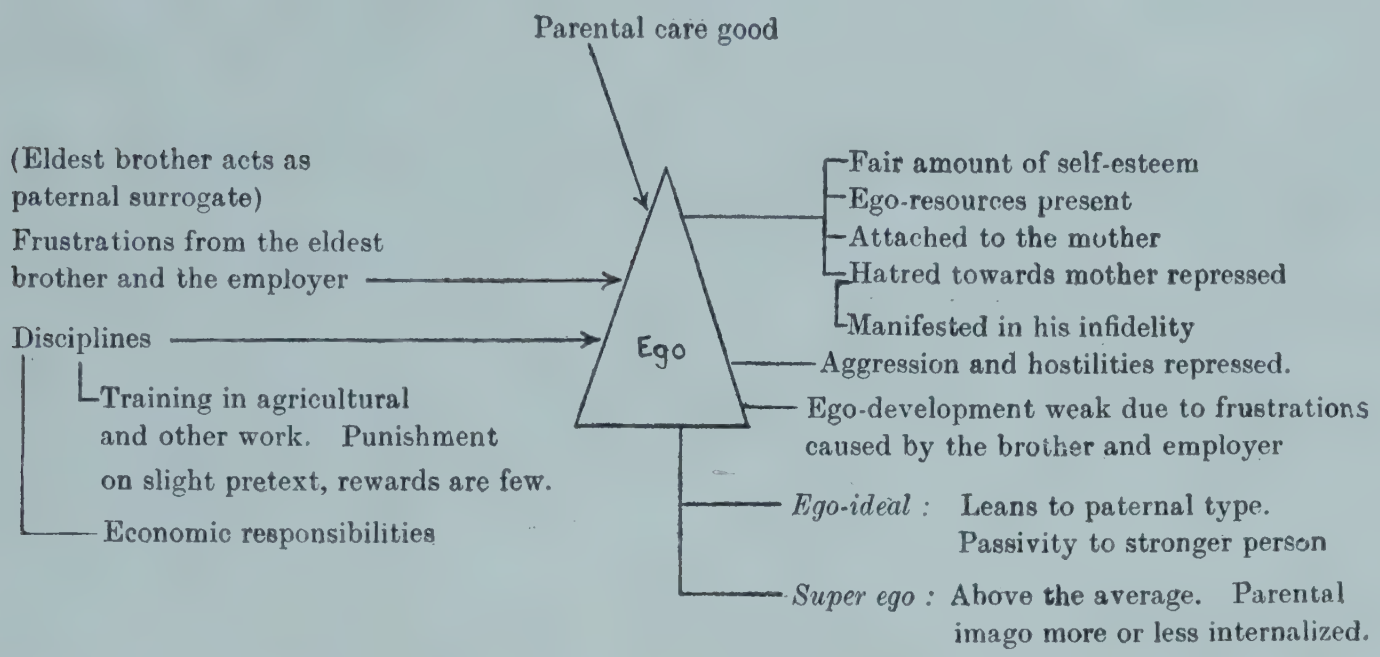
On the other hand, his mother would sometime order his eldest brother to beat him when he behaved improperly. This was likely to give rise to hatred feelings towards her, which was no doubt repressed at that time but later on revealed as an overt action, pertaining to his infidelity towards his wife.

The ill-treatment meted out to him by his eldest brother and the first employer had given rise to aggression and hostilities which had been more or less repressed though occasionally manifested by his out-bursts towards the first employer. These ill-treatments also contributed to his weak ego-development in spite of good ego-resources.

His ego-ideal leans to paternal type, and he appears to be passive to stronger persons, as for example, when he was rebuked by his mother or wife, he simply left the house.

He received good care from the parents, and so, it appears that his parental imago is more or less internalized, and hence, his super ego may be considered as above the average.

Ramchandra's Ego Structure


Parental care good
(Eldest brother acts as paternal surrogate)
Frustrations from the eldest brother and the employer
Disciplines
Training in agricultural and other work. Punishment on slight pretext, rewards are few.
Economic responsibilities
Ego
Fair amount of self-esteem
Ego-resources present
Attached to the mother
Hatred towards mother repressed
Manifested in his infidelity
Aggression and hostilities repressed.
Ego-development weak due to frustrations caused by the brother and employer
Ego-ideal : Leans to paternal type. Passivity to stronger person
Super ego : Above the average. Parental imago more or less internalized.

Kishta, the Village Priest

	O Pirani	
X Kalipada—O Mukshada....	O Padi	X Rabi
	X Murali	X Batu
	X Kishta—O Ratanmani....	X Gajen
	O	O .....

July 13, 1960

At the age of five or six years, I worked as a cowherd during the day time and attended a night school. I was in the school for four or five years. At the age of about twelve years, when I learnt ploughing, I gave up the job of cowherd and began to learn devotional songs. I read up to class I, then discontinued my studies as the parents could not pay the tuition fees, and so, I was employed as a cowherd.

While working as a cowherd, I went to the field to tend cattle, and there, I played as well as quarrelled with other boys. Once I quarrelled with another boy and beat him severely. He complained to his father who quarrelled with my father. Afterwards, my father punished me for this. When I was about ten or twelve years of age, my father beat me severely for not attending the school. Then I left home and went to the house of my sister at Narayangarh and told her about my father's ill-treatment. In the meantime, my mother, not seeing me in the house in the evening, began to cry and rebuked my father. On the following morning, my father came to Narayangarh and requested me to return home. However, I did not return but stayed at my sister's house.

I knew to play on the drum. Once, I heard some one, playing

on the drum in the evening, and so, I went there. The man who was beating the instrument, requested me to train him in drum-playing and I accepted the offer. So I began to train him and also slept there at night after taking my night meal there. This man had two wives. Once when I was alseep in the house, his first wife came to me at night and touched my belly. I came out of my sleep and recognized the woman. I was afraid that people might know about this visit, and so, I requested her to go away. I also enquired about her untimely visit. She replied, 'Are you not a man? Can't you guess?' Then I went out and she followed me. She told me that if any one saw us together at that dead hour of night then they might speak ill of us, and so, she requested me to go inside. She also requested me to satisfy her carnal desire. She was an aged woman and also superior to me in village relation, so I replied, 'You are like my mother and hence I cannot copulate with you.' On hearing this, she went away. I was there for fourteen or fifteen days. Then one day my mother came, and I returned home.

July 14, 1960

On my return, I did not join the school any more as I was afraid that I might have been beaten by the teacher for not attending the school so long. However, I attended household work and after a year, I was employed in a nearby village. I was there for one year, and I married at that time. As I had to sleep in the house of the employer, I could not properly attend my wife, and as a result, she left me. She was one month's pregnant at that time. However, I did not request her to stay with me, and I decided to marry again. I was at that time sixteen or seventeen years of age. My employer rebuked me on and often as that was his habit but he loved me as well, so much so that he made me his head labourer and entrusted me with responsible work. I was in his house for nearly ten years.

During this period, I fell in love with a girl of my village, who had been married elsewhere. She came to the village and did not return to her husband. I kept her as a concubine for two years but I had to severe relation with her as her husband threatened to file a suit against me.

When my contract with the employer was terminated, I returned home and lived there for sometime. Then my elder brother told me to be employed again as I would have to marry. So I took employment again, and after a year, got myself married. After

sometime, my brother's wife began to quarrel with us, and so, we decided to live separately. My father-in-law offered me his house to live in, and since then, I am living there.

My father-in-law told me before his death that I should treat my brothers-in-law as my own brothers. He gave me some portion of his landed property before his death. I looked after my brothers-in-law as my own brothers, and when they came into age, I began to live separately and distributed to them their due shares.

During the great famine, I had a very hard time. I took esculent roots of water-lily and arum. We had even to steal arum-roots.

Early Childhood (Question)

Walking : My parents, sister and other people who visited our house, helped me in walking.

Feeding : When my parents went out for work, my sister looked after me and fed me.

Toiletting : At about three years of age, I went out in the field for defecation. Parents also instructed me to go out for toiletting.

Bathing : Upto the age of three or four years, my mother bathed me. Afterwards, I took my bath in the pond.

Sex : I played with the girls assuming the role of a husband.

Sleeping : Upto the age of three or four years, I slept with my mother, then with the siblings.

Discipline : My father used to beat and rebuke me when doing any misdeeds. My mother only rebuked me. My father used to take tobacco and kept it in a particular place in the house. One day, I stole some tobacco for my own use. When my father detected that some portion of his tobacco was missing, he enquired to my mother about the missing tobacco, and my mother told him that I had taken it. My father was so annoyed that he beat me severely.

Late Childhood (Question)

From the age of six or seven years, I used loin cloth.

Aggression : I rarely quarrelled with other boys and in case of quarrelling, we became friends again.

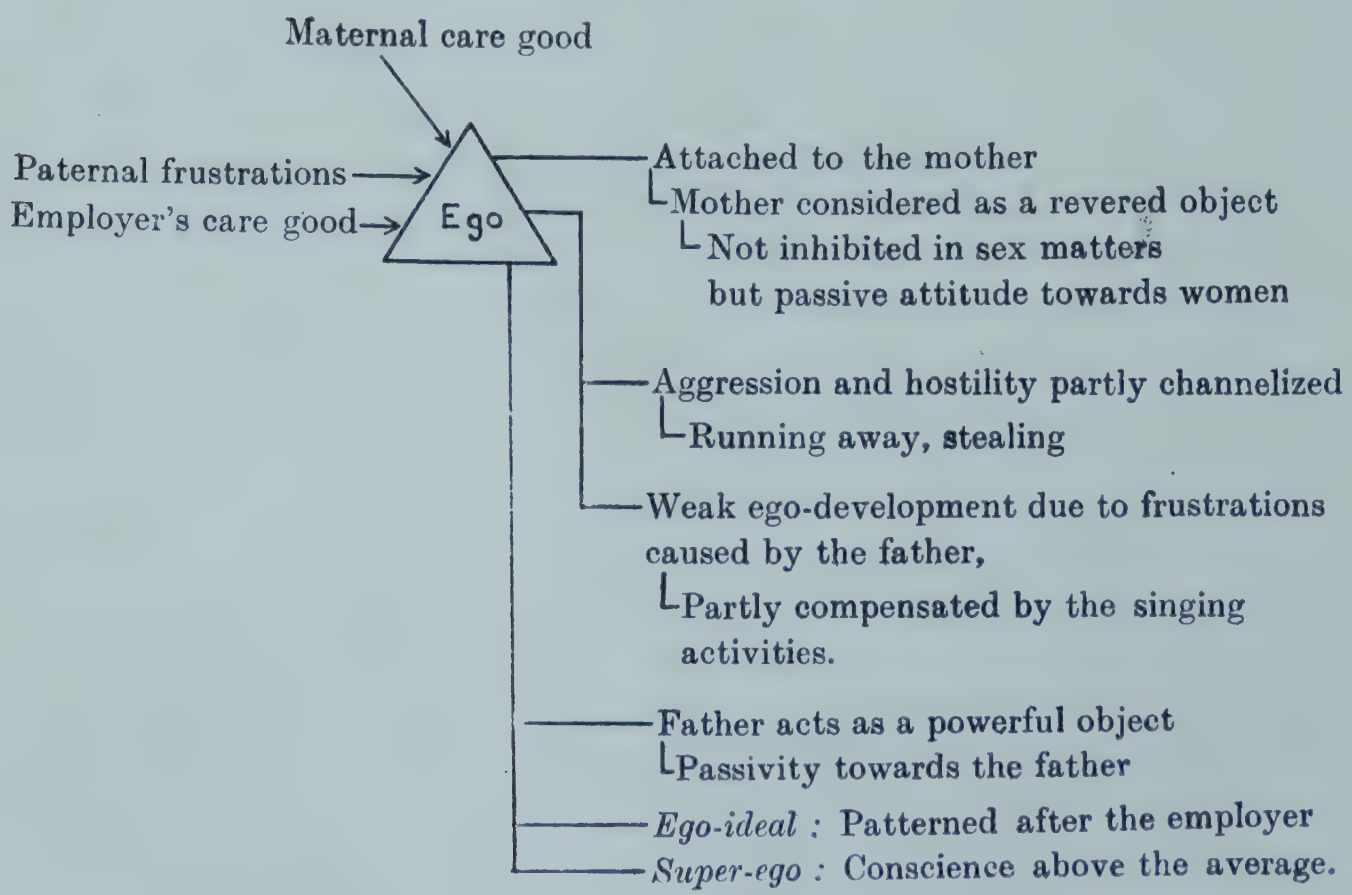
Analysis of Kishta's Life History

His mother was very much affectionate to him so much so that once when his father had beaten him severely and he ran away, and did not return home in the evening, his mother cried and rebuked his father. He was very much attached to his mother and looked on her as a revered object, and as such, he was not inhibited about women, though he showed reluctance to make love with an elderly woman. This reluctance appears to be due to the fact that he identified her with his mother. On the other hand, his other love affair was normal.

His father was a strict disciplinarian. He was considered by him as a powerful object, and so, he developed passivity not only towards his father but to other persons as well, as for instance, when the husband of his beloved threatened to file a suit against him, he was afraid to contest it. Instead, he bade good-bye to his beloved. Moreover, he was punished by his father without any reward for good action, and naturally, this had given rise to aggression and hostility towards his father, which had partly been channelized by running away and by stealing tobacco, used by his father. Over and above, frustrations caused by his father are likely to develop a weak ego, and have been partly compensated by his singing activities.

He complained about his first employer, whereas, with regard to the second employer, he said that he loved him very much so much so that he was promoted as a head labourer. So it appears that his ego-ideal leans to employer type. His employer was also adored by him, and so, he was considered as a paternal surrogate.

Kishta's Ego Structure


Maternal care good
Paternal frustrations
Employer's care good
Ego
Attached to the mother
Mother considered as a revered object
Not inhibited in sex matters
but passive attitude towards women
Aggression and hostility partly channelized
Running away, stealing
Weak ego-development due to frustrations
caused by the father,
Partly compensated by the singing
activities.
Father acts as a powerful object
Passivity towards the father
Ego-ideal : Patterned after the employer
Super-ego : Conscience above the average.

Ramhari

	X Gagen	
X Shibu—O Subida.....	X Bibhu	O Sindhubala
X Nari	X Ramhari—O Rajbala...	X Ashit
X Priya	X	O Sushila
X Sadhan		

May 2, 1960

My mother died when I was four or five years of age. My father could not do any work at that time as he had broken his legs and hands due to an accidental fall from a tree, when serving in the house of Keshab babu. So I was taken care by my elder brothers. Afterwards, I was employed as a cowherd in the house of a well-to-do Lodha in our village. As my father was a disabled man, I often supplied him with a portion of my meal and looked after him. I worked there for four or five years, that is, upto the age of twelve or thirteen years. I left the place because they did not treat me well.

I was afterwards employed in the house of one Sahu babu with higher pay. I tended his cattle and also ploughed his field. I returned home in the evening and attended household work as my eldest brother lived separately and the next one went away. When the contract with my employer was terminated, he requested me to serve him again for one year with higher pay. As my employer loved me very much, my father advised me to accept the employment again, and so, I was employed there. While in his house, I learnt ploughing, mowing, and similar other activities. After the completion of my service there, I told my father that I was not going to serve again. However, our landlord told my father that if I again worked in his house then he would arrange my marriage. So, I was employed again in his house. The employer agreed to make an advance of one hundred rupees and instructed my father to look out for a bride. There was a girl at Shakepara village whose marriage was settled at Kharagpur. However, this marriage did not take place, and so, the father of the girl approached my father and requested him to get me married with his daughter. So my father invited all the villagers at our house and told them, 'I am going to get my son married, so kindly permit me to do so.' The villagers replied, 'If you do not give us a feast, we are not going to permit you.' Then my father told the father of the bride about this incident and sought his advice. The people of that village told my father not to be worried about the matter and advised

him to send me there in order to get myself married. Then my father went to the house of my employer and narrated the whole incident to him. The employer said, 'I am going to make arrangement for this marriage.' Then he sent me with another man to the village of the bride, and the marriage took place accordingly.

Then the people of the village called my father to attend the village council and fined him rupees ten for not complying with their demand. We paid the fine as we thought that the employer was not going to live for ever, and so, it was foolish to make further troubles with the neighbours.

When I was in the house of my father-in-law for fifteen or sixteen days, my father served my employer in my place as his injuries were more or less healed up at that time. When my contract was over my father requested me to serve for another year to maintain the family. So I was employed again for another year. One day, I told my employer, 'If I do extra work besides my scheduled duties, will you then pay me more ?' He agreed and in this way, I earned a lot. As he had no children, he loved me very much. After a year, when my term was completed, I told my father, 'Father as we have got money now, so let us purchase two bullocks.' My father agreed and I purchased two bullocks.

At that time, my younger brother was also grown up, and we two brothers began to plough together, and our material condition went on better day by day. Then one day, my father told me, 'Son, your younger brother was also grown up, and so, he should marry now. So get yourself engaged again.' I took employment again, and after serving in three places, I collected some money and handed over them to my father. My brother married in due time.

Nearly ten or twelve years ago, when I was about twenty-eight years old, my father told me one day, 'Son, raw rice is also taken by the cows, so arrange some fish for me.' So I went in search of fish, collected some, and returned home. My father ate rice and fish curry at night, and on the following morning, he was attacked with diarrhoea. So I called a doctor who gave him some medicine and advised me not to be worried. However, his condition began to deteriorate. He called all of us at night and said, 'My days are numbered', and then turning to me, he continued, 'Listen my son, evil-doers will be punished one day. So don't take recourse to stealing and dacoity. Don't sleep in others' houses at night for the

householder may have young daughters, and you may not control yourself in sexual matter. Don't take away things from others' gardens without their permission. There are two bullocks in the house ; divide them between you—two brothers. Your uncle's son is not living here. If he returns, then give him his due share.' Then my father died. I acted according to his advice.

Early Childhood (Question)

Walking : Just after the termination of crawling, my parents caught hold of my hands and began to walk with me. My father also placed some sticks, a foot apart, perpendicularly on the ground, and then, he placed me near the sticks. I caught hold of one stick, stood up, then caught another one and so on, till I reached the last stick.

Feeding : Besides taking mother's milk at the time of crawling and walking, I also took rice with salt and water. When my mother went out for work, she locked me and kept some rice and then went away.

Toilet training : At an early age, I used to defecate here and there. From the age of four or five years, my parents advised me to go out in the field for toiletting.

Bathing : If the parents were out, I did not take my bath.

Sex : When two or three years of age, I witnessed parental coitus. I thought that my father was beating my mother.

Sleeping : Upto four or five years, I slept with my mother. My father generally slept with my mother but when he worked hard, he slept separately.

Discipline : When I did not work properly or did not hear my father's command, my father rebuked me and even beat me. Whenever my father punished me severely, my mother rebuked him and said, 'I have suffered so much for him. Why do you beat him ?' After beating me, my father caressed me often.

Tantrum : When I was too much annoyed with my parents, I threw away dishes, plates and so on. I often went out and did not talk to my parents.

Late Childhood (Question)

I used loin cloth at the age of five or six years. At the age of about ten years, I used napkin. During this period, I took my meals separately.

Play : When remained in the house, I played in the evening, because one could not be interested in games when the stomach was empty. So I went out in the morning in search of esculent roots of water-lily, mango and other fruits. If I happened to collect some, I ate them and after satiation, I played in the evening.

Discipline : Once, when I was about six or seven years old, my father told me to prepare the evening meal after husking paddy. I forgot to comply with his order as I went out for playing. When my father returned home in the evening and found that the meal was not prepared, he grew annoyed and beat me so severely that I fainted.

Sex : At the age of about thirteen years, I fell in love with a girl of our village. We loved each other and exchanged presents.

Aggression : I quarrelled when playing. I acted as a leader in my play-group. After quarrelling, we again renewed our friendship.

Adolescence (Question)

When I was nearly fourteen years, I became very friendly with Kulabala, who was nearly twelve years old. I was very friendly with her elder brother. Kulabala often invited me to take dinner and generally, I took my meal there and then returned home. Before my departure, it was arranged that I would return at night. So I went there at night and slept with the girl. Our love affair went on for sometime, then I discontinued it as I quarrelled with her brother.

Adulthood (Question)

I am not well-off. I cannot pull on well throughout the year. I and my wife also work as labourers. I do not participate much in social activities.

Aggression: Nearly three years ago, I had a quarrel with Rakshit, who threatened my brother with physical violence. I caught hold of him and we two fell on the ground, and then, my brother kicked him.

Wealth Contest: Occasionally, comparatively rich people do exhibit their wealth informally. They say, 'We have got more land, more money, so why should we bother about people ?' They do not care even to attend the village council.

I wanted to be a spirit-possessed man. When I was about nineteen years old, the father-in-law of the son of Hari Bhakta, who was a fomous spirit-possessed man, came to our village. I told him that I wanted to be a spirit-possessed man. So a day for initiation was arranged and I with two other men sat on the ground and began to chant the names of the spirits. The other two passed into trance but I could not be induced to that condition. Then I was told that my sign of zodaic is stronger than those of the spirits, and so, I could not be initiated as a spirit-possessed man.

Analysis of Ramhari's Life History

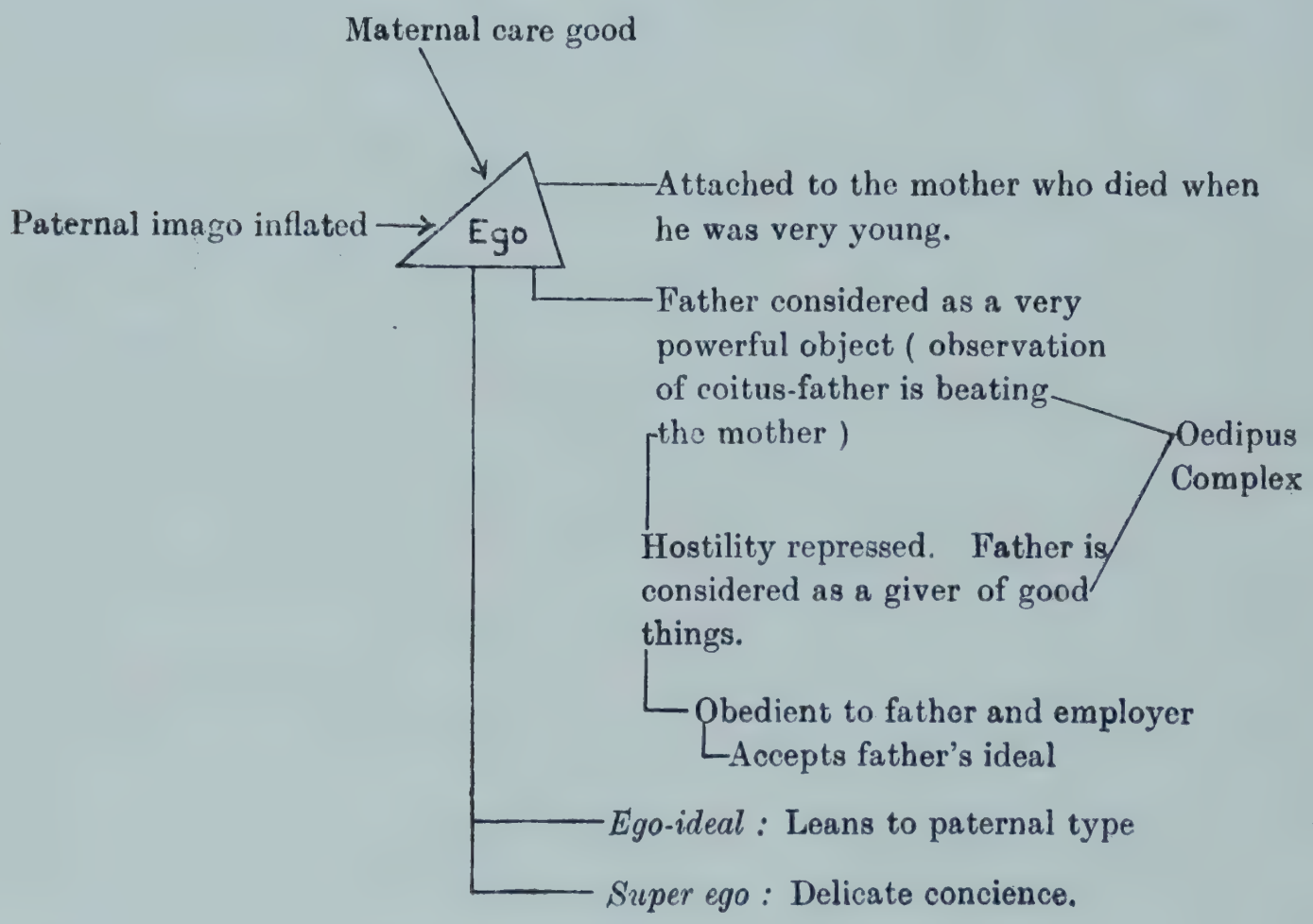
He lost his mother at a very early age. His mother quarrelled with his father when the latter beat him severely. It appears that he was attached to the mother. His father was a strict disciplinarian no doubt, but he caressed him on and often after punishing him for his misdeeds. He observed the parental coitus and thought that his mother was being beaten by his father. This presents the Oedipus situation. Father was looked upon as a very powerful object, and at the same time, hostility towards the father was repressed. He considered him to be a giver of good things, which was examplified by the fact that when he was employed as a cowherd, he used to give his father a portion of his food and looked after him as far as practicable.

It also appears from the life history that he was an exceptionally obedient child, as for instance, when his father told him to be employed again for his brother's marriage, he did not grumble but accepted his father's advice. On another occasion, when he earned some money, he, instead of purchasing bullocks by himself, requested his father to do so. All these show that he has not only accepted his father's ideal but his ego-development is better than the average. His second employer who was very kind to him, had also contributed much in this respect.

His father gave him advice before his death and he acted accordingly. This shows that his ego-ideal leans to paternal type.

His obedience towards his father and absence of any case of stealing in his record shows that he is a man of delicate conscience.

Ramhari's Ego Structure


Maternal care good
Paternal imago inflated
Ego
Attached to the mother who died when he was very young.
Father considered as a very powerful object (observation of coitus-father is beating the mother)
Oedipus Complex
Hostility repressed. Father is considered as a giver of good things.
Obedient to father and employer
Accepts father's ideal
Ego-ideal : Leans to paternal type
Super ego : Delicate concience.

Nitai

O Bami
X Abhoy — O Amrika....
X Gorchu
O .....

X Nitai — O Gandhari ....
O ....

X Khandu
X Sukra
X Panchu
O .....
O Nakri

April 29, 1960

I took my mother's milk up to five or six years of age. When my mother went for work, I accompanied her. She kept me on the ground and did her work. At the age of ten or twelve years, I was employed in the house of Janardhan Sahu as a cowherd. Before my employment, I attended domestic duties, that is, looked after cattle, brought wood from the forest, took care of my sister and so on. My parents never rebuked me. They loved me very much. During the great famine, we became very poor, and so, I took employment in the Sahu babu's house again. I was there for five or six years. At first, I was employed as a cowherd;

afterwards, I worked as a labourer, that is, I ploughed as well as carried utensils to the market for sale. I only worked during daytime and slept in my house at night. Sometimes, I absented myself from work. My parents did not rebuke me for my non-attendance. On the other hand, though my employer was annoyed, he also did not rebuke me for not attending my duties properly.

While at home, I went to the forest with other boys to kill rabits with bows and arrows.

At the age of sixteen or seventeen years, I fell in love with Gandhari who was about thirteen or fourteen years of age. She often came to my house and I also went to her place. In this way, we became very much attracted to each other. When the people of the village came to know about this affair, they approached my father for my marriage with her. I also requested some people to speak to my father regarding this marriage. Gandhari and I went to the market at Keshiari. When I met her there, she offered me betel leaf and nut, and I presented her with soap in return. I met her here and there and also copulated with her. When the marriage was settled, I again took employment in the house of Sahu babu for one year. He paid me in advance and the marriage took place accordingly. Before my marriage, I had also illicit relations with several girls.

April 30 1960

(Question about his childhood). At about five years of my age, I played with other boys, grazed cattle in the field, caught fish and also engaged myself in similar other activities. During the summer, after taking rice with salt and water in the morning, I went with other boys for collecting mangoes. I played and ate fruits throughout the day and returned home in the evening. My mother used to beat me occasionally, and my father was only annoyed. I attended the domestic duties when my mother was ill. I also cooked when she was out for work and also looked after my sister. When there was no work, my parents collected esculent roots of water-lily, boiled them, and ate them instead of rice.

Early Childhood (Question)

Walking : Parents helped me in walking by catching my hands. I also worked independently by supporting myself on the mud-wall of the house.

Toilet Training : I went to the garden or to the field for

toiletting. Parents did not insist on any fixed time and fixed place. They simply said, 'Go to the place where other people go.'

Bathing: Parents helped me in taking bath. From the age of five or six years, I took my bath in the pond.

Sex: When I cried, my parents sang songs, kissed me, and also manipulated my penis.

Sleep: I slept with my father and mother alternately.

Discipline: When my parents went out for work, they said, 'We are going out. So don't quarrel with other boys and don't leave the house as we have got a few utensils and the door is made of bamboo; if you go out, then these things may be stolen.' I remained in the house, and, in case, I went out, I returned as soon as I remembered my parents advice.

Late Childhood (Question)

I took employment in the house of Sahu babu. I stayed there during daytime and returned home in the evening.

Play Privilege: I had the only opportunity for playing when I was in the field. I played with other boys and though we had altercations on and often, we became friends again.

Discipline: If I could not do work properly in the house of the employer, he only rebuked me.

Adolescence (Question)

His sexual and other activities have already been described in previous chapters.

Adulthood (Question)

I am a very poor man. I cannot maintain the family from the produce of my land. So I and my wife work as labourers. I also collect fish, tortoise and honey, and sell them to the market. I have never quarrelled with people.

Analysis of Nitai's Life History

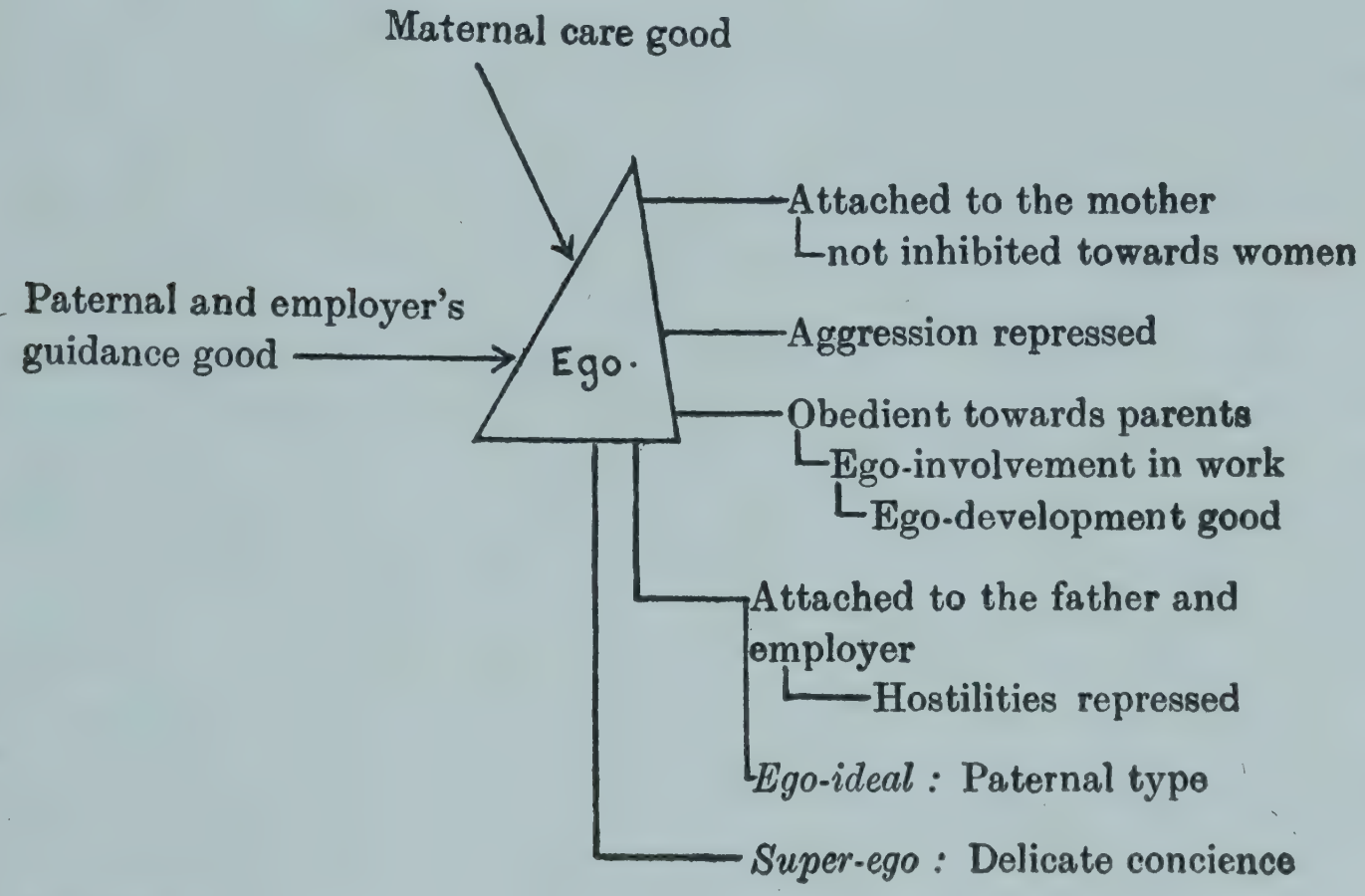
It is another impoverished life history. Paternal care appears to be good. His employer had also never acted as a frustrating object. Hostilities towards the employer as well as to the parents are likely to be repressed in such circumstances, and so, there is no scope for overt aggression as well. His attachment to the

parents has made him an obedient child, and this has been examplified by his action, that is, he did not move out from the empty house as his parents advised him as such. Moreover, during his mother's illness, he performed the domestic duties without any grudge, that is, he has shown ego-involvement in his activities, and so, his ego-development may be considered as above the average.

It has already been said that he was attached to the father and this attitude was further enhanced when his father did not object to the marriage proposal with his beloved. All these have helped him to accept paternal ego-ideal.

It also appears that he has internalized the parental imago to such an extent that he may be considered as a man with delicate conscience.

Nitai's Ego Structure



Khudiram

X Debraj-O Kamini..... O Rahi
X Khudiram
O.....
O.....

May 17, 1960

When I was about three years old, my father died. My mother sold cattle in order to get me admitted in a school. At the age of about eight years, I with some other boys went to eat jujubi. I climbed up the tree and began to pluck and threw the fruits on the ground. Bhagirath (later on he became his

brother-in-law) who was on the ground, began to eat them one by one. So I was annoyed. I climbed down and slapt him so hard that he nearly dazed. So I took him to a pond and poured water on his head. Soon he came to his senses and went home. He never complained to his parents about this incident.

I went to school at about seven years of my age. After sometime, my mother told me that it would no longer be possible for her to allow me to continue my studies due to financial reason. I left the school at about ten years of my age. Then I was employed in the house of one Sahu babu for three years, and I collected some money. Then I joined night class in a school, and after sometime, I discontinued my studies as I joined a dramatic party. In other words, I was a vagabond at that time. Then my mother fell seriously ill, and I spent a considerable sum of money for her treatment. My mother was saved but I became very poor. During this period, I worked on my field and also employed myself as a labourer. I was heavily in debt. However, this condition was somewhat improved when I raised goats and sold them.

At the age of about twenty-six years, my mother proposed for my marriage in a distant village. I declined the offer. I told my mother that as the roads were not good, it would be very risky for me to visit such a jungle place infested with wild animals. The real reason behind my refusal was that I fell in love with Bhagirath's sister Malina while we were engaged in digging a pond in a distant village. Once what happened there was no one to accompany her in her place of work, and as I was about to start for that place, her parents requested me to escort her, and she accompanied me. In this way, we became very friendly. We worked there for three months, and we fell in love with each other. When the marriage proposal came from the parents of the girl, my mother accepted the proposal, and we were married.

When the dramatic party was disbanded, I joined a musical party though this was not profitable to me.

May 19, 1960

I married in the last year. I quarrelled with my wife several times. Nearly a month ago during my brother-in-law's marriage, there was urgent need of fire-wood in the house of my father-in-law. So I told my wife to give my meal as I had to go out for collecting fire-wood for them. My wife replied, 'If you sincerely want to go, you will be served now. On the contrary,

you will have to take it later on'. I remarked, 'All the members of my father-in-law's family are idle people. They are not competent enough to collect fire-wood.' On hearing this, my wife was very much annoyed and rebuked me. I beat my wife and then went away to collect fire-wood. On my return, I heard that my wife had gone to Narayangarh. So I went in search of my wife and found her in the house of Hari. I requested her to return but she did not answer. So I again took to physical violence, and then, we returned home. On another occasion, I quarrelled with her as she neglected household duties. Then she went to her father's house, escorted by my mother-in-law, who rebuked me very much. Then I wanted to file a case in the village council but refrained from doing so on the advice of others.

After ten or twelve days, I decided to visit my father-in-law's house. I went near his house but could not go inside as I felt shy as well as annoyed, for I heard that my mother-in-law rebuked me in a very insulting manner. My father-in-law told me yesterday, 'Anger cannot persist for long. Come to my house and take your wife back.' I replied that I was going to his house that night. My mother also advised me to escort her back, and in case she did not come, my mother told me to marry again as she was an old lady, and it was very difficult for her to attend domestic duties.

Nearly five years ago, I went to Orissa with some other people of our village to attend Bhoodan Conference at Rajghat. After arriving at Cuttack, we went to Rajghat on foot. As we arrived much earlier than the scheduled time of the opening of the conference, we decided to visit some places, and so, we divided ourselves in two parties. I with Lakshmindar proceeded in one direction and covered nearly eighty miles in four days. Then we arrived at a village and went to the house of a Brahmin. As my legs were swollen, I told my companion that it would not be possible for me to proceed further, and so, I requested him to leave me there. However, I told him that I was going to meet him at the conference as I hoped to be cured by that time. So Lakshmindar left with the Brahmin. There was only two members in the Brahmin's family, his wife and daughter. In the evening, the girl came to me to rub my feet with clarified butter. I told the girl in her language, 'You are a Brahmin girl and I am a Sabar boy. So if I allow you to rub my feet than I am going to commit a sin. So dear lady, go away.' The girl replied, 'My dear man, you are our guest. So it is the duty of the host to do everything for the guest.' So saying, she began to rub my feet. She repeated this treatment for four or five days,

and we fell in love. I was there for sixteen or seventeen days, and the girl slept with me at night during all these days. Then I thought that it is a foreign land, and if the people came to know about this affair then I might be in trouble. I felt uneasy and decided to leave the place. I told the girl to remember me as a good friend who played with her for sometime, and then, I left the place. I was so morose and depressed that I did not attend the conference but returned home.

On my return, I worked as a labourer and earned some money. The people of the village told me that there was a ghost in my house, and so, I decided to take the help of a medicine-man, in order to drive the evil spirit. (The irrelevant portion of the ghost story has been omitted). I went to a medicineman in a distant village and narrated my story. At about mid-night, the medicineman called me and took me into a dark room. All the doors and windows were closed. Suddenly, a door was opened, and it appeared that some one entered the room. Then some one said, 'I am a spirit and your house is haunted by a ghost.' Then he told me that he was going to kill it, and for this, I had to pay eighty rupees to the Brahmin. I told the spirit that I was a poor man, and so, I was going to pay twenty rupees only. The spirit agreed. Then I requested the spirit that as it was going to kill the ghost, it should leave some marks in order to prove its presence in my village. The spirit replied that on returning home, I would find that thatch belonging to some one of our village had vanished. On my return, I found that straw belonging to Haguri had disappeared. Then I was relieved of my anxiety and engaged myself in agricultural work.

Early Childhood (Question)

Walking: I cannot remember exactly who trained me in walking. Perhaps, parents helped me in walking.

Feeding: Cannot remember in so far as my early years are concerned. From the age of four or five years, I took my meals thrice. When mother was out, she took me with her. When I remained home, I was looked after by my aunt.

Toiletting: At the age of four or five years, parents showed me the place for defecation.

Bathing: From the age of six or seven years, I took my bath independently in the pond. Before that, I was helped by my mother.

Sleeping : From the age of eight or nine years, I slept alone. Before that, I slept with my mother.

Discipline : From the age of five or six years, my mother beat me and rebuked me if I did not hear her command.

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of six or seven years, I used pant and napkins and from the age of ten or twelve years, I wore cloth.

Play Privilege : I read in the school upto nine or ten years of my age. I used to play with other boys during the recess. I did not play during school hours, as in that case, I might have been beaten by the teacher.

Adolescence (Question)

I attended a night school upto twenty years of my age. During day-time, I attended agricultural and other work.

ANALYSIS OF KHUDIRAM'S LIFE HISTORY

His father died when he was three years of age, so paternal influence on ego-structure appears to be of little consequence. He received good maternal care. His mother sold cattle in order to get him admitted in a school. This enhanced his admiration for the mother. When he heard that his wife quarrelled with his mother, he wanted to complain to the village council. All these show that he is very much attached to the mother. This attraction to mother has helped him to develop his ago-resources as well as self-esteem. The evidence of the former is found in his attempt to follow many professions. He has also shown considerable self-esteem as for example, when he proceeded to his father-in-law's house in order to call back his wife, he refrained from doing so at the last moment, because he remembered at that time that his mother-in-law rebuked him.

In spite of his love and admiration for the mother, he has also shown ambivalent feelings towards her. This has been revealed when he quarrelled with his wife and also when he remarked, 'Mother was saved but I became very poor.' It appears that only in one instance, his mother acted as a frustrating agent, that is, when she took him out of the school owing to financial reason and got him employed.

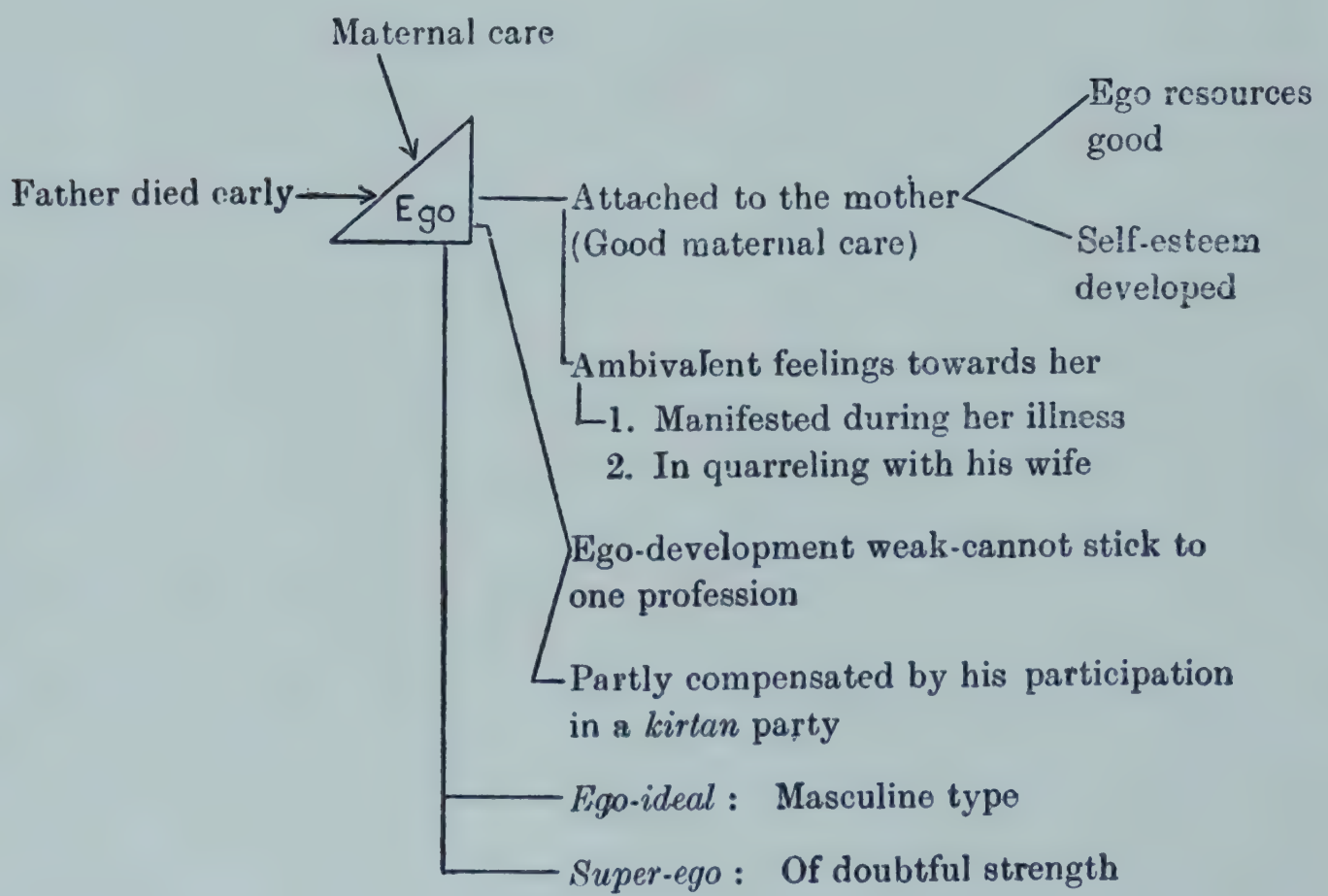
In spite of his good ego-resources, his ego-development

appears to be weak, as for instance, he cannot stick to one profession ; he is always acting like a rolling stone. However, this weak ego-development has been compensated by his participation in a *kirtan* party.

When he joined a dramatic party, he thuoght that he had become a vagabond. However, he did not sit idle at any time. He has always solved his financial troubles by engaging himself in some sort of work. His ego-ideal appears to be of masculine type.

His father died very early. He misbehaved with the daughter of the Brahmin and left her with a parting advice that they had only played for sometime. All these show that his super ego is of doubtful strength.

Khudhiram's Ego Structure


Maternal care
Father died early
Ego
Attached to the mother
(Good maternal care)
Ego resources good
Self-esteem developed
Ambivalent feelings towards her
1. Manifested during her illness
2. In quarreling with his wife
Ego-development weak-cannot stick to one profession
Partly compensated by his participation in a kirtan party
Ego-ideal : Masculine type
Super-ego : Of doubtful strength

Mangal

X Nilambar-O Rohini.....X Rajani
X Goshta
O Jamini
O .....
X Mangal-O Basanti..... O Ragini
O Gutmi
O .....

When my parents went out during my early childhood, I was looked after by my brothers and sisters. From the age of five or six years, I played with other children as well as with the siblings.

If I quarrelled with them, my father rebuked me. On the other hand, my mother used to beat me occasionally, and then advised, 'Why do you quarrel with other children when playing ?'

When I was nearly eight or nine years of age, Haripada babu told my father, 'Why your son is whiling away his time ? I can employ him as a cowherd.' So I was employed in his house and remained there for one year. I looked after his cattle, collected fire-wood and attended other household work. He gave me good food and had never beaten me. If I could not do work properly, he simply rebuked me, and then I left his house. Then he came to our house and escorted me back.

After a year, my father told me that as I could do field work, I should remain in the house in order to assist him in agricultural work. Then I returned home and engaged myself in ploughing. When there was no work, I went on hunting and played with the boys of my same age.

After some years, my father died. As my mother did not show any interest in getting me married, I quarrelled with her and went to Khejurkuthi where my sister was married. I told my sister that I wanted to remain in her house. After sometime, I was employed as a cowherd. Once I went to the field to tend cattle, and there, I met a girl, a divorced woman of our community. We became very friendly and fell in love. However, I had to break my relation with her after sometime as she demanded more money from me. Then I left the job and began to work for my sister.

After sometime, the mother of the girl whom I married later, came to her sister's house at Khejurkhuthi and enquired about me to my sister. My sister replied, 'He is my brother'. Then she told my sister whether I would marry her daughter on condition that I would live in my father-in-law's house. I agreed and then I went to Kukai where my mother-in-law lived. Before my marriage, I had to work for a year in her house. After a year of my marriage, my father-in-law died and I had to look after the hole family. After the birth of my first child, I began to live separately.

Early Childhood (Question)

Toiletting : At the age of three or four years, parents told me to ease in the field. I cleaned myself in the pond. My mother also helped.

Bathing : At the age of three or four years, I accompanied the parents to the pond. At the age of five or six year, I took my bath alone.

Sleeping : I slept with my mother up to five or six years of my age.

Discipline : When I quarrelled with other boys or damaged their property, my mother beat me and did not even supply me with food. My father only rebuked me and said, 'Why you are so naughty ? Your mother will beat you.' My father even quarrelled with my mother and beat her for her harsh treatment towards me.

Tantrum : When my mother punished me with physical violence, I broke the earthen utensils, rebuked my mother and went away.

Late Childhood and Adolescence (Question)

I played with other boys of my same age in the morning and in the evening. During mid-day, I cleared up the cow-shed and collected fire-wood, because I was afraid of my mother's punishment.

Discipline : Mother was a strict disciplinarian.

Sex : At the age of eight or nine years, I played with boys and girls of my own age. I often played with the girls by assuming the role of a husband.

Aggression : At the age of fifteen or sixteen years, once I went with another boy to collect fire-wood. When the collection was completed, we divided the fire-wood but disagreed as to the proportion to be taken by each of us. So we quarrelled and I struck him on the head so severely that blood came out. The other boy complained to the village council, and I was fined five rupees.

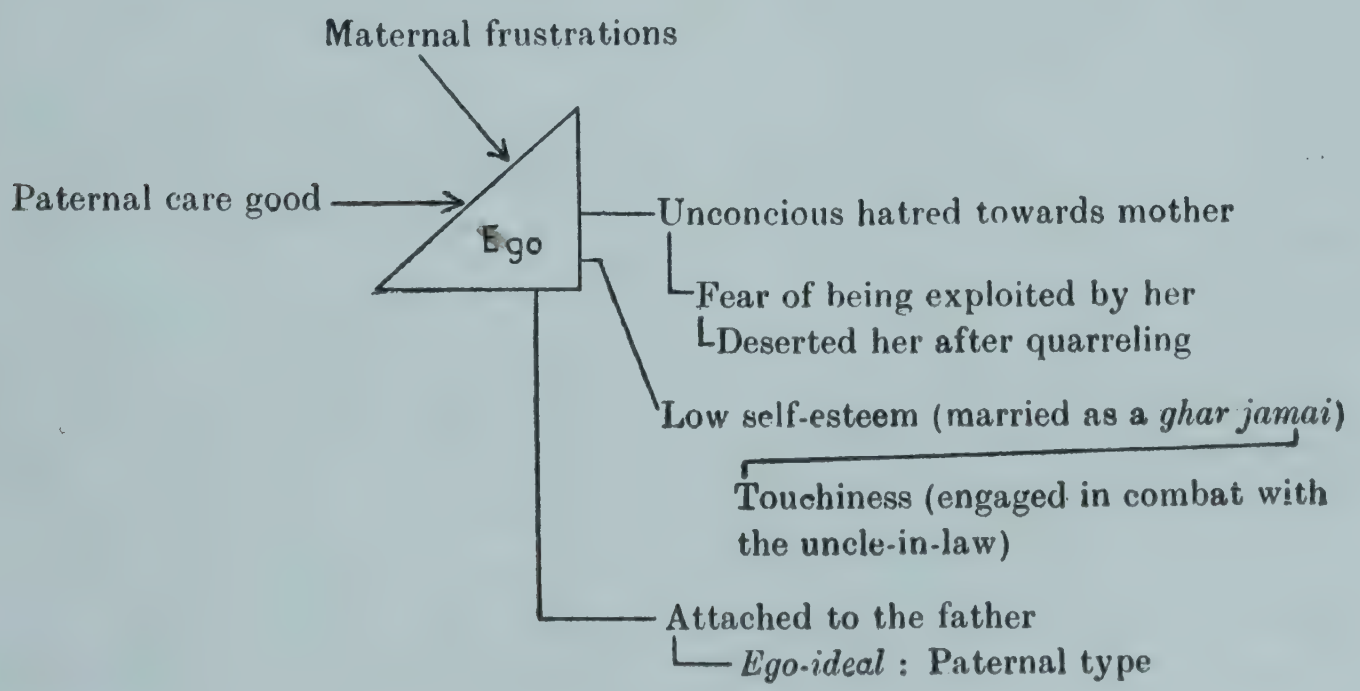
Adulthood : I am not well-off financially. We pull on by working as labourers. Once my wife went to my father-in-law's house after quarrelling with me. I went to bring her back. Then my wife as well as my uncle-in-law began to rebuke me. I was very much annoyed and challenged my uncle-in-law in a combat which actually took place.

Analysis of Mangal's Life History

He received good paternal care. His father rebuked him for his misdeeds and warned him not to take recourse to such activities as his mother would beat him. He was very much attached to his father, and it can be expected in such a case that his ego-ideal should lean to paternal type.

On the other hand, his mother was a strict disciplinarian. She not only beat him on and often but also stopped his meal, if he acted against her advice. He played in the morning and in the evening but always attended his domestic duties during mid-day as he was afraid that any non-compliance might lead to physical violence by his mother. All these have contributed to an unconscious hatred towards the mother, and this has again given rise to a fear of being exploited by her, as for instance, he thought that his mother was not going to settle his marriage and so, after quarrelling with her, he left the house. However, his hatred feelings have also lowered his self-esteem and increased his touchiness, as for example, he did not mind to marry on condition that he would always live in his father-in-law's house. As to his touchiness, it may be mentioned that he quarrelled with his uncle-in-law and challenged him in a combat which actually took place, though he was his respected relation.

Mangal's Ego Structure


Maternal frustrations
Paternal care good
Ego
Unconcious hatred towards mother
Fear of being exploited by her
Deserted her after quarreling
Low self-esteem (married as a ghar jamai)
Touchiness (engaged in combat with the uncle-in-law)
Attached to the father
Ego-ideal : Paternal type

Haguri

O Subeda O .....
X Dharam-O Ratni.....X Haguri-O Parvati.....X Gopal
X .....

May 16, 1960

At the age of five or six years, I was employed as a cowherd. I was in this employment for about eight or nine years. I also slept there. My employer loved me very much, so much so that I often slept with him. He had neither rebuked me nor had beaten me. I played with my employer's son as well as with other boys. I had never quarrelled with my play-mates.

Before being employed, I remained in the house. My parents loved me very much as I was their only son. They never rebuked me. When they went out for work, they often took me with them. In their place of work, I took mother's breast as well as puffed rice. My sister also accompanied me and looked after me when my mother worked. While I was at the house of my employer, I learnt agricultural work. I was in charge or all his out-door work.

My ancestral home was in another village. I came to Kukai after my marriage as I inherited my father-in-law's property. After serving my employer for ten or twelve years, I thought not to serve him any longer as I considered that my work at home would be more profitable. So I came home and attended agricultural work. After a few years, my parents died. After three or four years of their death, some people of Kukai came to our place and made a marriage proposal to me. I accepted the offer and the marriage took place in due time. After my marriage, I settled at Kukai. (Question about love) I did not fall in love. I am a man of different type. I am a religious minded man. While at the house of the employer, I heard many religious stories told by my employer from sacred literature. He advised me, 'Don't quarrel with people, don't take recourse to robbery and stealing, and don't go to girls.' My activities are greatly influenced by his teachings. So I avoided girls and they also did not dare to approach me.

I have already told you that I inherited my father-in-law's property and so settled at Kukai. Both my parents-in-law loved me. They had enough land. I worked and lived happily. At that time, I was about twenty-five years of age and my wife was about fifteen or sixteen years. I loved my wife very much. After fifteen or twenty years of our marriage, my wife died leaving behind a son. Since then, I am a widower and shall never marry again. I have a great affection for my son. Whatever he does, I do not object.

Once Mahendra, who is the husband of my sister-in-law's daughter, stole a goat and came home with it. (This incident has also been narrated by Mahendra in his life history) Mahendra lived in my house though he took his meal separately. One of the villagers told me about the incident and also warned me that as Mahendra lived with me, I might have been implicated in the case. So I was very much annoyed and had beaten Mahendra so severely that the owner of the goat, who followed Mahendra, requested me not to beat him further as he was not going to call the police.

May 17, 1960

When my wife died, my son was about five or six years old. The boy was looked after by his grandmother. I did not marry again as I thought that my second wife might not take proper care of my child. Moreover, I thought that she might run away. I also thought that as I was about forty years at that time, I was too old for a new girl.

(He narrated the following dream) Nearly four years ago, I dreamt: *I again went to Gaya to perform the funeral rites of my fore-fathers.* No association was given for this dream.

Early Childhood (Question)

As far as I can remember, I learnt walking automatically. When I crawled, I sat on the floor, and then, stood up by supporting myself on things, and in this way, I learnt walking.

Feeding: I sucked my mother's breast upto a year. Afterwards, I took raw rice with salt. There was no fixed time for feeding. At the age of four or five years, I ate rice with curry at fixed intervals.

May 18, 1960

Toilet Training: At the age of three or four years, mother told me to ease myself in the field or in the kitchen garden and she cleaned me after defecation. When I was a bit older, I cleaned myself in the pond.

Discipline: I had never been rebuked by the parents or other people.

Late Childhood and Adolescence (Question)

When I was first employed, I used loin cloth. When I was trained in ploughing at the age of twelve or thirteen years, I wore napkin and cloth.

Relation of food to Training : When I learnt ploughing, my food-habit was changed. I took puffed rice in the morning, went to the field for ploughing, and again took the same diet in the field. Then returned to the employer's house again in the mid-day, took meal, and then, took some rest and then again went to the field. After finishing my work, I returned in the evening, took my night meal and then slept. My prestige in the employer's house was enhanced at that time when compared to that of a cowherd.

Play Privilege : As I was employed, I had the least privilege for playing, because if I would have played then my cattle might have grazed on other peoples' field.

Adulthood (Question)

I have only three members in the family, and the land I have got, is sufficient to maintain us. Formerly, I used to help people by giving them money and paddy on loan. I have discontinued this practice now as people do not care to repay the debt. People come to me on and often for advice. I am also called to attend the village council. I have not contributed any land to Bhoodan. (Then he narrated a dream) Last night I dreamt : *I am measuring paddy. Association* : I am measuring paddy and then keeping it in a container. (According to their interpretation this dream means that he will attain success in any work. This dream reveals his wish fulfilment).

(It appears from the life history record that he is a right and just man. However it has been reported to the author that his son kept in his house for seven days, a girl, with the full knowledge of his father, for the purpose of marrying her, and his father did not object to this illegal keeping).

ANALYSIS OF HAGURI'S LIFE HISTORY

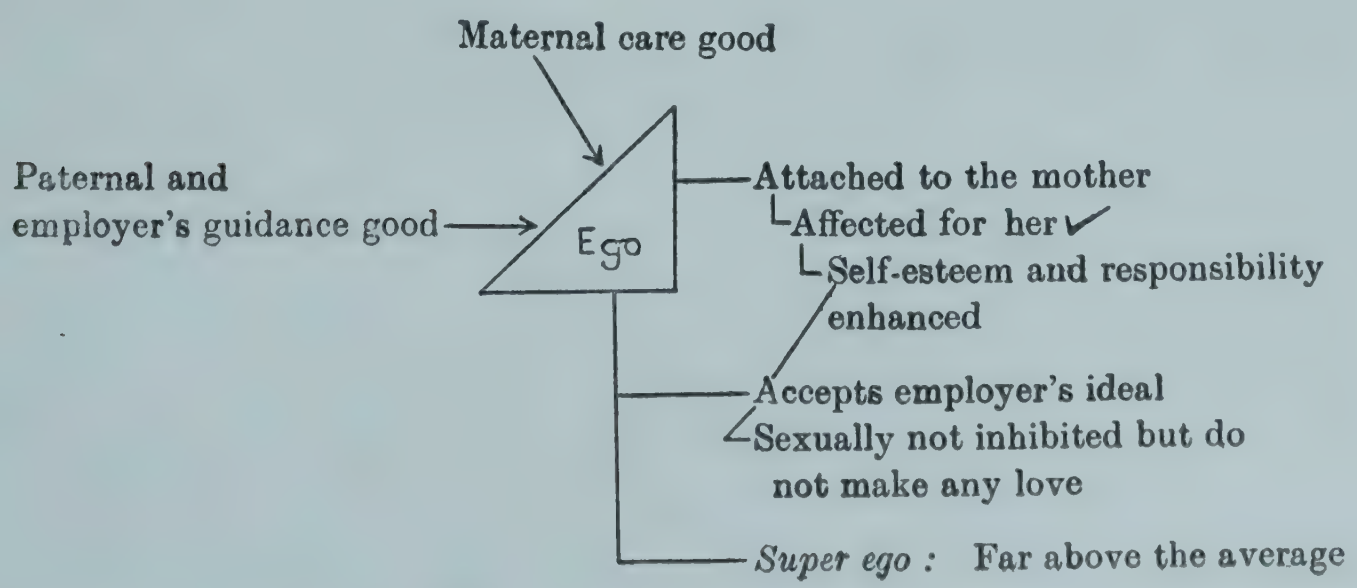
He being the only son was loved by his parents very much. They never rebuked him. He was no doubt attached to them and this is likely to enhance his self-esteem and sense of responsibility. These two qualities have been manifested when he had

beaten Mahendra as some one told him that he might have been hold responsible for Mahendra's stealing as the latter lived in his house. His sense of prestige was at a stake. He stopped beating when the owner of the goat intervened and told him that he was not going to hand over Mahendra to the police. Moreover, people consider him as a responsible man, and they often come to him for advice.

He had mentioned very little about his father. He only said that his father loved him very much. On the other hand, the influence of his employer appears to be considerable on the formation of his ego. He was employed at the age of five-six years and served for about ten years. His employer was very kind to him. He often slept with him and also played with his children. He was trained in many activities in his house, that is, he learnt ploughing and all sorts of out-door and in-door work. He was also put in charge of all out-door work. When he learnt ploughing, he was given special food. He also pointed out that his prestige in the employer's house was enhanced at that time. When questioned about his love affairs, he said that he is a religious minded man and all his activities are guided by his employer's advice. So it appears that his ego-ideal leans to employer's type.

He appears to be far above the average with regard to integrity of character. His super ego appears to be well developed though he remained silent when his son forcibly kept a girl in his house for the purpose of marrying her. This attitude as revealed by him may be explained by the fact that his son's act is not generally considered as unsocial or illegal by the people in his culture. Moreover, his blind affection towards his son has also contributed much for his non-interference in the matter.

Haguri's Ego Structure



Madhab

O Lalita
O Hariprya
X Nimai- O Drupadi..... X Madhab-O Rohini
-O Shampati...O Ila
O Lakshmi O Asha
X Ram O Kanka
X Meghnad

May 18, 1960

At the age of about five years, I went to a school. I attended the school for a year and then my father died. So I was in trouble with regard to my studies. I told my mother that I wanted to read more. Then my mother again got me admitted in a school. I read upto class IV, and then I left school owing to financial troubles. Then my mother arranged my employment in the house of a rich man. I was at that time eight or nine years old. It was settled with the employer that along with my work, I was also allowed to prosecute my studies at night. However, my employer did not care for my studies, and so I left his house after a year. While employed in his house, one day he gave me some money and told me to go to Belda market to purchase certain things. As I did not see a railway train before, I went to Belda Station and saw a goods train on the platform. When the train began to move, I started to run with the train by catching hold of the last wagon. The guard stopped the train, came out of his compartment, caught hold of me, and took me to the station master, who fastened me with a rope. I was there throughout the day in that condition. In the evening, an officer came and released me. Then I returned to my employer's house at night. Seeing me empty handed, he rebuked me. So after taking my night meal, I left his house. My mother enquired about the matter, and on hearing what had happened to me in the railway station, she rebuked me and said that I might have been run over or jailed. Then she advised me to return to the house of the employer but I did never go there. I remained in the house for one year. During this period, I played with other boys and went on hunting with bows and arrows.

Then I got myself admitted in a Missionary School. I was there for six months. One day a gentleman came to our house and told my mother, ' You are a poor woman, and so, it will not be possible for you to purchase books for your son. So keep him with me. I shall look after his studies and provide him with food but I am not going to pay him for his work.' So I was employed in his house and left school. However, the employer did not look after my studies and so, I left him after sometime.

While at home, I used to catch tortoise and fish and also went on hunting as well as played with other boys. One day I went to Bichitrapur, a nearby village, with another boy, to shoot with bows and arrows. There we learnt that the pond of our village was going to be cleared from water haycinth, and so, my companion suggested to procure a net in order to catch fish from the pond. I stole it as suggested by the other boy. The owner of the house detected my stealing and he began to follow me. I threw the net away and went to the field. When I returned home in the evening, my mother told me that the owner had complained to the village council. So I went to Narayangarh. In the meantime, the village council met and took up my case. My maternal uncle told the village council that I should be pardoned as I was a mere boy. So no action was taken against me and I returned home. While at home, I played as well as worked as I was a grown-up boy. Then again I got myself admitted in a school and left it again after sometime as my mother could not purchase books for me.

Then I told my mother that I wanted to plough our field. She replied that as we had no bullocks so how to till land. I told her that I was going to plough on *bhage* (that is, the bullocks and other accessories will be supplied to him and if he ploughs the supplier's field once, then he will be permitted to plough his land twice). I continued in this way for four or five years, accumulated some money, and then, I purchased a cart as well as bullocks, and we were well-off.

I was at that time sixteen or seventeen years old. My mother wanted to get myself married, and so, she went to a village near Kharagpur, saw a bride, and settled my marriage. They were very rich people and one member of the family served in a government office. So I went to that village to see the bride. I saw the bride and on my return, I told my mother that I did not want to marry that particular girl. On hearing this, all my relations were annoyed with me. Then I saw the bride again and decided to marry. While returning home, I met a Bengali gentleman who was known to me. He took me to a military camp in a nearby forest. The military people treated me well. I was there for about fifteen days. As I did not return home in time, my mother went out in search of me, met me in the camp and we returned home. In the meantime, my brother Ram who was about six or seven years old, went out in search of my mother. When we returned home, we did not find him in the house. Then I again went out in search of him but could not find him any where, and then, I returned home. After a few days, some people escorted my

brother in the village. After sometime, I married and returned home with the bride.

May 19, 1960

After about two months, I broke my hand while playing *hadudu* and was in bed for about fifteen days. Since then, I did not copulate with my wife. The reason being that she appeared to be older to me. I was afraid of her, afraid to talk to her even, though she tried to talk to me. She used to sleep with my mother. After about three months, she went to her ancestral home escorted by her father. She remained there for sometime and returned after about two months. After sometime, my faher-in-law came and took me and my wife with him. I remained in the house of my father-in-law for about a month. My wife began to take great care of me but I could not sleep with her. One day my grandmother-in-law told me, 'Are you impotent ? Why do you not sleep with your wife ?' I did not answer. Afterwards, I returned home with my wife. After a few days my wife suddenly left my house without informing me about her departure. Then some people of our village went to my father-in-law's place and escorted her back. After sometime, my mother-in-law came and took my wife with her. After a few months, my mother-in-law requested me to bring my wife back and so I went to my father-in-law's place again. When I met my wife, I marked a change in her. In the past, she took great care of me but during my stay at my father-in-law's place, I observed that she did not bother to look after me. I doubted that she might have sexual relation with other people. I requested my father-in-law that I wanted to take my wife back. My father-in-law advised me to wait up to the Car Festival in order to see the great fair that was going to be held on that occasion. So I stayed. The day before the Car Festival, my father-in-law told my wife to clean his clothes and she did accordingly. On the festival day, my father-in-law started early and instructed me and my brother-in-law to go to the fair with his clothes. After taking our morning meal, I and my brother-in-law started for the fair and instructed the other members of the family, who were to follow us, to carry my father-in-law's clothes. When we arrived there, my father-in-law enquired about the clothes. My brother-in-law told him that his garments would be brought by the women, who were following us. As he was very drunk, he called us by names for not bringing his wearing-apparels with us. I felt insulted and returned home. My moher enquired why I remained so long at my father-in-law's place, and I narrated the whole incident to her. In the meantime, my father-in-law wrote several letters to me, expressing his repentance for his

unmannerly conduct and requested me to see him again as he was seriously ill. However, I did not go. After a few days, I learnt that my father-in-law died. After sometime, my mother-in-law came to our house and requested me to accompany her. As I expressed my inability to go with her, she left our house after a few days. After sometime, I heard that my wife was living with another man.

The women of our village, who could cut jokes with me, enquired to me whether I was not going to bring back my wife again. So I decided to escort my wife back and went to my father-in-law's house. I told my mother-in-law that I went there to bring back my wife. My mother-in-law replied that my wife had gone to a distant place to cut paddy, and she was expected to return after sometime. The people of the village, who were friendly to me informed me that my wife had gone with her paromour to work as a labourer. So I returned home and after sometime, I thought that she might have returned by that time, so I again went there. As she did not return by that time, I returned home. After a few days, I went to Narayangarh to attend a big fair there. I went there because I thought that I might find my wife there. I met my wife at the fair and requested her to accompany me to my village. She told me that it would not be possible for her to accompany me then as her mother might be worried if she did not return home in time. However, she promised to meet me at Kharagpur on a particular day. So I returned home. On the appointed date, I went to Kharagpur and met my wife their with her paromour. I told my wife to come with me but she did not answer, and then I returned home.

After sometime, I fell in love with a girl of our village. I was at that time about twenty years of age. I was with the girl for four or five months. I told her that as my wife left me, I might marry her. She advised me to make the proposal to her father. However, I did not make the proposal and subsequently, she was married elsewhere. I felt morose and heavy at heart.

During the great famine, we were in great troubles. There was very little paddy in the house and unfortunately that was also stolen. So we remained often in fasting. During this time, Nepal and some other man of the village went out for stealing. I came to know about their plan when they were conspiring and told my mother about it. I thought that police might harass us. So I went to my uncle's house at Narayangarh and stayed there for about fifteen days.

After sometime, I went to Midnapur to visit a friend of mine. On my return journey, I went to Kharagpur. I went to the market and met my wife there. She came to me and requested me to take her with me. I replied that on many occasions, I wanted to take her back, but she always turned down my proposals on some pretext. So it was not possible for me to take her back. Then my wife began to cry, and I left the place. On my return, I engaged myself in agricultural work. The harvest was good, and we ate with heart's content. This happened just after the famine. Then the great cholera epidemic broke out. During the onset of the epidemic, an incident took place in our village. A Bengali gentleman from a nearby village used to visit a girl in the house of Sudhir in connivance with his parents. Sudhir's elder brother was a friend of mine. He told me about this affair. So we decided to apprehend the man. One night when the gentleman came, my friend called me and locked the door and went to the village to call the people. In the meantime, the parents of Sudhir as well as the intruder implored me to release him. I felt pity and released the man. When the villagers came, they did not find the culprit and thought that I released the man after taking bribe, and so, they began to beat me.

After sometime, one of our bullocks died, and my mother instructed me to purchase another bullock. So I went to Midnapur to purchase a bullock, and while returning home, I was caught unware by some dacoits. They took my bullock, and then I returned home.

During this period, Shri Midya came to our village, and he opened a school and I took my admission there. I also visited my sister's place on and often, and there, I fell in love with a girl. I wanted to marry her and my beloved advised me to propose to her father. I could not make the proposal as I felt shy. When my sister heard about this affair, she warned me not to run after girls when I had got a wife. After sometime, the girl died, and I was very much morose. After a few days, my sister's husband arranged a marriage for me, and my mother told me to marry that girl. As I did not like the girl, I declined to marry. As my mother was annoyed with me, I had to marry the girl against my wish. I thought as I had to marry, so let me marry. As I did not like my wife, I did not sleep with her on the same bed for a long time. My wife went to her father's place on and often. Once, when she went away, I decided not to bring her back, and she remained in my father-in-law's place for about two years.

Then I thought to marry a girl of my choice. I happened

to know this girl when we were employed to dig a pond in a near-by village. Occasionally, we passed our night in that village, and we slept together at that time. One night some police men came to our village and tried to rape the girl. The girl shouted, and so the police went away as many people gathered on hearing the shout. Shri Midya took the girl at his house and informed the police inspector about this incident. As a result, the police men concerned were transferred. The girl remained in the house of Shri Midya for about a year, and later on, she was married elsewhere. So I blamed my fate and decided not to run after girls any longer. I built a very big house and wanted to purchase some land. I advanced some money to a relation of mine for this purpose. However, my relation, instead of giving me due share, sold the land elsewhere. Then I joined a dramatic party and was there for sometime. At that time, the headman of my wife's village came to our house with my wife and left her. I thought that I should not be annoyed with my wife, as it was better to live peacefully, and so, I did not rebuke her.

May 25, 1960

After sometime, I arranged with a zamindar to purchase four bighas of land and advanced the full amount. The zamindar sold half the portion of his land to another man and told me to take the other half. As I had no other alternative, I accepted the offer. Then I attended agricultural work. At that time, my eldest daughter was born.

During this period, my daughter fell ill and so, in order to cure illness in the family, I decided to be a spirit-possessed man. Hari tried several times to initiate me, but each time, I could not be induced into trance condition. Then I thought that all these were bogus tricks. So I decided to be a homeopath. I purchased a box of medicine and a book. After sometime, I discontinued this practice due to financial troubles. Then I attended Kukai Seva Kendra, where learned people came to deliver lectures on social and political subjects. Then I attended agricultural work and so, could not attend the Kendra regularly. I feel embarassed when I think that we are known as dacoits.

About three years ago, I got my younger brother married. At that time, another daughter was born to me. In order to supplement my income, I started a grocery shop. However, I had to close the shop after a year as my agricultural produce was much less owing to less attention to agricultural work.

July 12, 1960

As my brother's wife was living at her father's place, and as my brother went to Burdwan to get training as a social worker, I and my mother were the only persons to work for the maintenance of the family. In order to supplement the existing income I went to a distant village to work as a labourer. I was very friendly with the son-in-law of my employer, who happened to be there at that time. When he started for home, he gave me eight rupees to keep with me. I gave the amount to my employer for safe keeping. When the employer came to know that the money belonged to his son-in-law, he was annoyed with me and rebuked me very much. So I left his place without taking my dues and my clothes. I left my employer's house in the evening. So I decided to go to Belda as I thought that I would be able to meet people from our side, who went to visit the cinema. However, when I reached Belda, the second show of the cinema was over. So I decided to pass the night at the railway station. When I was proceeding towards the station, two police men apprehended me. I told them my story and was subsequently released by them. On the following morning, I returned home. I narrated the incident to my mother who rebuked me for going away against her advice.

July 13, 1960

After sometime, I was attacked with blood dysentery. In spite of my illness, I worked, and the disease aggravated. So I attended a chariable dispensary, and the doctor told me that I was attacked with gonorrhoea. (Irrelevant portions are omitted). I was under the treatment of many qualified doctors, spirit-possessed men and medicinemen but they could not cure me. Then my mother told me to go to Kultikari village near Kolaghat, where a Brahmin kept a ghost in order to cure illness. So I went there and met the Brahmin. He sat for worship at about mid-night in a room, the doors and windows of which were closed. I also sat by his side. Then the Brahmin extinguished the light and began to chant incantations. Suddenly, one of the windows opened, and some one entered the room and addressed me thus: 'Your name is Madhab (Madhab said that he did not tell the Brahmin his name) and you have so many brother and sisters.' (Madhab informed the author that he did not tell the Brahmin about his brother and sisters, though the exact number was correctly predicted). Then I was told that it would take a long time to be cured, and I was advised to wear a charm, which was placed on the altar of the deity. Then I returned home but I was not cured of my ailment.

People of our village told me to go to Jadukuthi on the border

of Orissa and Bihar. So I went to Jadukuthi and went to the house of the Brahmin who cured people. On the following morning, I took my bath as advised by the Brahmin, entered the temple, and lay prostrated on the floor. Then the Brahmin came, took a round thing, perhaps a stone, and placed it on my chest. Curiously enough, the stone began to move throughout the body and at last it came to the spot, where it was originally placed. Then the Brahmin told me, 'You have not been possessed by any evil spirit. You will be cured but it will take a long time. So I advice you to worship sun thrice daily, and you would be cured after sometime.' So I returned home and acted according to his advice. Though I was not cured, I felt mentally better. Then I went to a renowned doctor at Khejra, who cured me after treating me for about four months.

Analysis of Madhab's Life History

He lost his father at an early age. On the other hand, he served two employers for a very short time. So it appears that his ego structure has not been considerably influenced by his father or employers. His mother was the only person, responsible for his upbringing. She was not a strict disciplinarian. Only in few occasions, she had shown annoyance and rebuked him. In most of the cases, she did not disapprove his whimsical activities. In many cases, he wasted money for his foolishness but his mother had not rebuked him for all these. Once when he was employed in a village, he quarrelled with the employer and returned home without taking payment for his work. His mother rebuked him not for the reason that he returned empty-handed but for the fact that he went out to work as a labourer against her advice. When he stole a net, his mother did not rebuke him but told him that the owner of the net had complained to the village council, and so, he left the village. All these indicate that he is deeply attached to the mother. So it appears that the attachment is partly repressed, and for this reason, he has shown sexual inhibition in relation to his wives, where as, in relation to other women, he has acted like a philanderer. His two marriages may be considered as furfunctory. He was forced to an unsatisfactory marriage, and he had practically no sexual relation with his first wife. She looked to him elderly, and he was afraid of her. She left his house on and often and then finally left him and took another man, because her husband was apparently impotent to her. His wife's grandmother once enquired to him whether he was really impotent. With regard to his second wife it may be pointed out that though he has normal sexual relation with her, he does not like her. He had sexual congress with other women whom he wanted to marry. He could not marry them as he had not the courage to make the

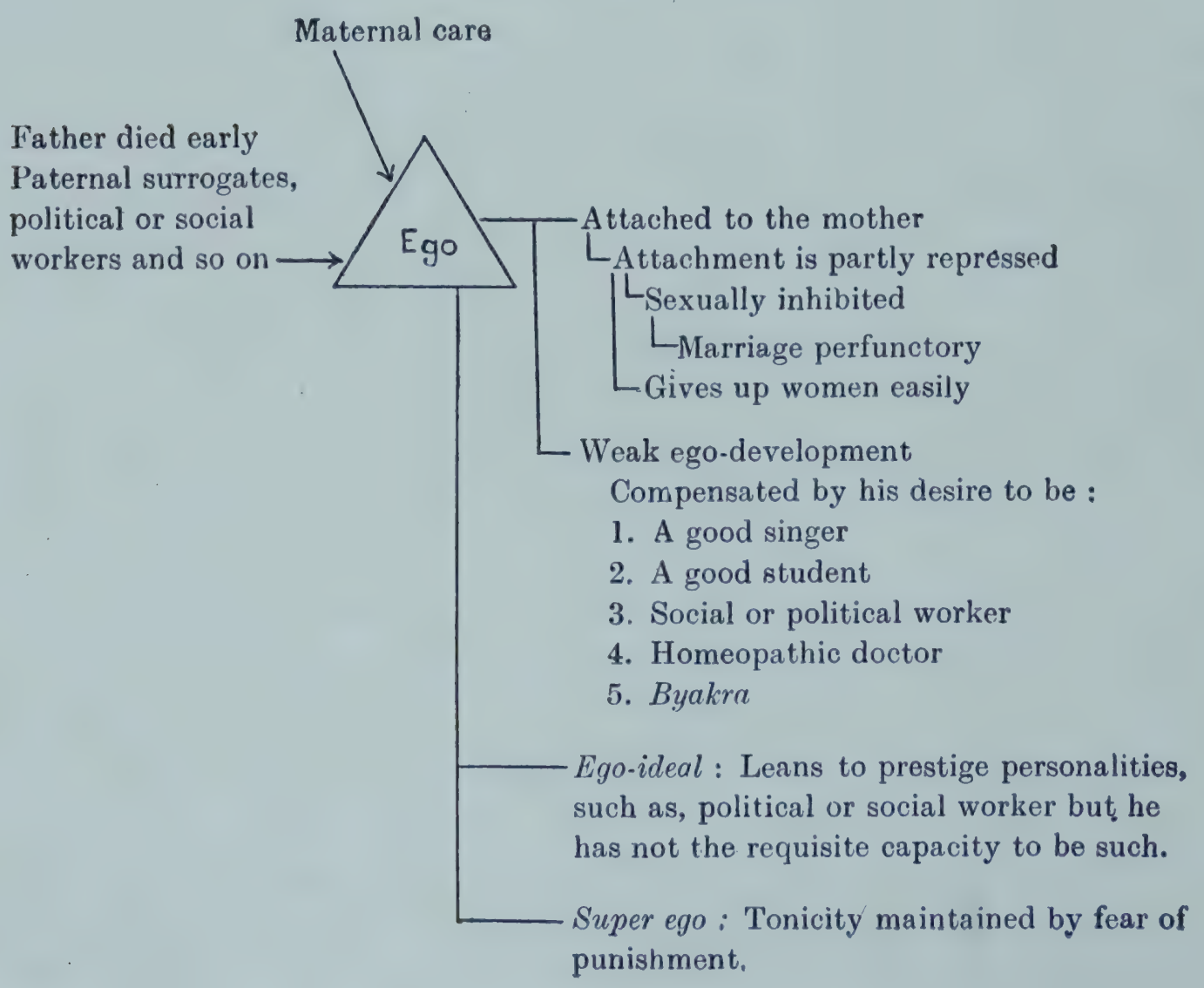
marriage proposal to the appropriate authories. In other words, he had given up his beloveds easily when confronted by a natural situation which might have been solved by others without any difficulty.

It appears that his maternal care includes only rewards and not punishment, and in such a case, the ego-development is bound to be weak. There cannot be any constructive ego-development in such circumstances. However, his weak ego-development has been compensated by his desire to be a good singer, good student, social worker, homoepathic doctor and a spirit-possessed man. He could not implement his desires into action because of his weak ego. He is a spoilt child.

It also appears that his ego-ideal leans to prestige personalities, such as political or social worker, doctor, good agriculturist and so on, but unfortunately, he has not the requisite qualities to fulfil his desires.

When he stole a net and he saw some people of his village going out for stealing, he was afraid, lest police arrested him and so he left the village. These indicate that the tonicity of his super-ego is maintained by his fear of punishment.

Madhab's Ego Structure


Maternal care
Father died early
Paternal surrogates, political or social workers and so on
Ego
Attached to the mother
Attachment is partly repressed
Sexually inhibited
Marriage perfunctory
Gives up women easily
Weak ego-development
Compensated by his desire to be :
1. A good singer
2. A good student
3. Social or political worker
4. Homeopathic doctor
5. Byakra
Ego-ideal : Leans to prestige personalities, such as, political or social worker but he has not the requisite capacity to be such.
Super ego : Tonicity maintained by fear of punishment.

Pitambar

			O Seba
	X	Aghur	X Banku
	X	Lakshmindar	X.....
X Natabar-O Rangi....	X	Pitambar-O Deshi.....	X.....
	X	Jiten	O.....
	X	Sreehari	
	O	Pairashi	
	O	Ahalya	

July 11, 1960

At the age of five or six years, I and my brothers attended a school. After sometime, we left the school according to the advice of our parents. They decided not to allow us to prosecute our studies as the teacher punished us on and often. Then I remained home and attended domestic duties. At the age of ten or twelve, I was employed as a cowherd. I was there for one year. The employer loved me very much and had never beaten me. Then one day, one gentleman from Gajalipur told my father, 'As you have one bullock, so allow your son to plough my land, and in exchange, I shall supply you with my bullock to plough your land.' I worked in this manner for sometime and we were pulling on well.

My elder brother Aghur was also employed, and he accumulated some money by which my father purchased some land. We all brothers were engaged in agricultural work, and our financial condition improved.

During this time, I learnt agricultural work, house building and so on. I also visited other people of the village and learnt many things from them. After sometime my eldest brother got married and as my next elder brother refused to marry, I also married at that time.

Early Childhood (Question)

My parents trained me in walking.

Feeding: My mother helped me in feeding upto two years of my age. From the age of three or four years, I took my meal alone.

Toiletting: At the age of three or four, my mother advised me to defecate in the field.

Sleeping: I slept with my mother upto four or five years of my age.

Discipline : If I did not hear the commands of my parents then my father rebuked me and even beat me.

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of about seven years, I used loin cloth. From the age of ten or twelve years, I began to wear napkin and cloth.

Food : When I used napkin, I took my meal separately along with my mother and father.

Play Activity : As I had to do hard work, I played in the evening.

Discipline : My father rebuked me if I did not work properly. I often left the house when my father would beat me severely.

Narayan

X Aghur-O Matangini.....O Akadashi
O Basanti
O Beni
X Narayan
O Kalindi
X Kalipada
O Sakuntala

July 20, 1960

At the age of five or six years, I was employed in the house of Janardhan as a cowherd for three or four months. Then I was employed by another man and served there for three or four months. While at home, I played, went on hunting, and attended domestic duties. At the age of ten or twelve years, I learnt ploughing and other field work. Nearly four years ago, I married in the village. I met the girl and subsequently, we became very friendly, and then, the marriage took place.

Early Childhood (Question)

At the age of three or four years, my parents helped me in walking.

Toiletting : At the age of three or four years, my mother advised me to go out for easing.

Sleeping : I slept with my mother upto the age of seven or eight years. Afterwards, I slept separately.

Discipline : When I did not attend school but played with other children, my father used to beat me severely, and my mother did not object.

Tantrum : When my father rebuked and beat me, I undressed myself and went out of the house.

Late Childhood (Question)

At the age of five or six years, I used loin cloth. My parents advised me to wear something, otherwise my penis might be castrated by some one. When I worked in the field or employed as a labouror, I wore napkin and pant.

Play Privilege : I worshipped the toy-deities, collected eggs from the nests and also participated in games.

Discipline : If I did not do any work, my parents threatened me to deprive me of food.

Adolescence (Question)

I used to visit Hari's house, and in this way, I became friendly with Hari's adapted daughter. We fell in love and subsequently we were married.

Mihir

X Jogendra-O Biraja.....X Madhu
X Mihir
X .....
O .....
X .....
X .....

At the age of eight or nine years, I looked after cattle, cut grass and also attended household duties. I was never employed as a cowherd. I made necklaces with flowers and placed them on the necks of the toy-deities ; this was the way of our playing. I also went out in hunting occasionally. At the age of about four years, my parents took me with them when they went out for work as labourers, because there was no one in the family to look after me.

When played in the field and quarrelled with my play-mates, my mother rebuked me and ordered me to go out of the house. In such circumstances, I went out and did not return to the house during daytime as I was afraid that I might have been betean by my mother again.

At the age of five or six years, I did not do any work. I attended a school for sometime. I discontinued my studies as the teacher beat me for not preparing my lessons. Then I remained home and attended domestic duties as well as looked after my younger brother. At the age of about fifteen years, I learnt ploughing and also worked as a labourer.

Early and Late Childhood (Question)

Toiletting: At the age of three or four years, my mother instructed me to go out for easing, and she cleaned me after defecation.

Sleeping: Upto the age of three or four years, I used to sleep with my mother. Afterwards, I slept with my father.

Discipline: My mother used to beat me when I did not act according to her advice. Moreover, she did not give me food. However, when she went out of the house, I took my meal and went away.

Tantrum: When annoyed, I broke earthen utensils and other things. At the age of eight or nine years, I used pant.

Sex: I was in love with a girl. She is now married and lives elsewhere.

Note: The three life histories recorded above are impoverished in content, and so, it is not possible to analyse them.

CHAPTER THREE

INFANCY

In view of the materials, collected from the life history records, from reliable sources and from the observation of the author, an account of the institutionalized practices and formal trainings, in which the child is exposed since its infancy, is recorded in this chapter.

During later period of pregnancy, the woman generally does light work. When the husband knows that his wife is in the family way, he stops coitus with her. On the day when the child is expected, the woman eats nothing and is confined in the house. A midwife, generally a woman of Hadi caste who is specialized in this matter, is called. She helps in the delivery, cuts the naval cord with bamboo silver and throws away the placenta and other blood stained cloths. If she fails, then the help of a medicineman is sought and doctors are also called in rare cases. In case of normal delivery, the village women helps in most of the cases. After delivery, the mother usually goes to the pond, takes her bath and on returning home, she takes puffed or fried rice. She also takes powdered roots of certain plants in order to be relieved of pain. On the other hand, the child is being rubbed with clarified butter, and then, it is being bathed in warm water by the midwife.

Then they call the barber and washerman, the former cuts the nails of the inmates of the house as well as those of the village women who remain in the house during the delivery. On the other hand, the washerman washes the clothes of the household members. After birth, the infant is, generally, fed with honey for three days. After that period, it is given the mother's breast, and in case of insufficient milk in the breast, the help of other women of the village, whose lactation period is not over, is sought. However, in case, this is not available, the infant is given goat's milk and candy water. On the other hand, the mother from the second day of child birth upto a week, takes chilli, garlic, roasted bringals, boiled potato and rice. After ten or twelve days, she takes vegetables and attend household work. On the twenty-first day, *Sasthi puja* is performed and after this ceremony, she can take fish.

For five or six months, the mother always remains with the

child, attending its numerous needs. If she has to go out for some business, then the other inmates of the house look after the child.

After twenty-one days, the infant is being bathed twice or thrice in a weak after being massaged with mustard oil. After two or three months, the child is being taken to the pond by the mother.

There is no anal training during this period. It is being cleaned after defecation by a piece of cloth or a leaf. Occasionally, they carry it without using any cloth on its back. If the baby cries, then they sooth it by singing or by making different sounds.

After a year, the mother, generally, goes out for work, and in such a case, the chlid is looked after by the other members of the house. In case, there is no other members in the house with the exception of siblings, the baby is taken away and is put under the charge of a sibling in the place of work, and it is being fed occasionally by the mother. It has also been observed that when the child is a year or more old, it is left with the older siblings who take care of it when the mother is engaged in domestic duties or in field work. Father rarely carries the child at this age though they fondle them on and often.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

This period covers the time between first walking to wearing the loin cloth at the age of five or six years.

It has been observed that these people generally being poor, go out in the morning either to work as daily labourers or to attend their own field during the ploughing season or to collect firewood, or other forest products from the jungle. They usually return in the evening. If the child is very small, and there is no one to look after it, then the mother carries it and does her work, keeping the child under the shade of a tree or under an umbrella, and whenever necessary, it is being fed by offering the breast. When the child grows a bit older, that is from the age of three years onward, it is being kept either in the care of an old woman or the father if he stays at home and in their absence, under the care of older sibs.

Walking

It appears from the anecdotes in the life histories that some of these boys learn walking automatically, where as, the others are trained by the parents as well as the villagers.

On the other hand, the author observed that most of the children were left behind under the care of older siblings who not only caressed, fondled and teased them but also trained them in walking by way of fun.

Feeding

It has been observed that when the child accompanies the mother, it is being fed with breast milk, and in case of older children, two or three years old, they are fed with puffed or parched rice, supplied by the employer during midday meal. When left behind under the care of older siblings, the mother usually keeps rice soaked overnight in cold water and instructs the older children to feed the young one when it cries. In some instances, when the mother goes out for work, and there is no other member in the family to look after the child who is three or four years of age, the mother generally keeps some rice in the house and goes away after locking the child inside.

It may be concluded that in most of the cases, the younger ones are left with the older siblings who are not very much older, because in case of boys, they generally engage themselves as cowherds from the age of six or seven years, where as, in the case of girls of that age, they usually accompany the parents in their field work, and in case, they remain in the house, then only, do they look after the younger sibs in addition to their domestic duties, and so, these children are generally neglected, because they are usually looked after by the siblings who are comparatively not very old. It is expected in such circumstances that the younger ones are not given food in time. As a matter of fact, they are not looked after properly and, in most cases, food is given when they cry.

Toilet Training

It appears from the life history records that, in many cases, they are shown particular places or instructed to go to the field at the age of three or four years. On the other hand, Basanti has reported to the author that usually the children are not trained in toiletting, that is, these habits are automatic. It appears that before the age of four years, they are not trained in toiletting. However, from the age of four years, these children are instructed to defecate in a fixed place, and in some cases, they accompany the mother when she goes out in the field to ease herself.

It may be concluded that in most of the cases, these children do not follow any fixed time for toiletting. Moreover, the place

for this purpose is selected by the elders as well as by way of imitation.

Bathing

It has been observed that at an early age, the parents, especially the mother bathe the children in the house or in some cases in the pond. In the absence of the mother, other members of the family do it. From the age of three or four, they generally take their bath in the pond, supervised by the members of the family.

According to Ram Kotal, when he was young, his mother helped him in taking bath, and in her absence, his sister-in-law attended. At the age of four or five years, he went to the pond under the supervision of his sister-in-law.

Sex

It appears from the life history of Nitai that when he cried, his parents used to kiss and sing as well as manipulated his penis. On the other hand, Kishta has stated that he played with the girls assuming the role of a husband at the age of five or six.

It may also be mentioned that as the parents generally sleep on the same bed or in some cases in separate beds in the same room, there is plausible reason to believe that these children have got ample opportunity to observe parental coitus.

Sleeping

It appears that they generally sleep with the mother upto the age of four or five years. However, after this age, they usually sleep with the father or with older siblings. In cases, where the parents are lost at an early age, they sleep with the elder brother or with other members of the family. It has also been observed that they usually sleep on a mat with or without a pillow, whereas, during winter, some kind of bed-cloth is spread over the mat.

Talking

Talking is generally taught by the parents and the village women. Sometimes, the parents instruct to say this as this or that as that. This is gradually learnt by imitation.

Discipline

The toddlers are generally looked after by the older siblings and occasionally by the mother. They are being carried on the

lap and if the older siblings decide to play, then they are placed on the ground and given such materials as leaves and broken dolls to play on. If the child cries then in order to appease them, they are either threatened or taken on the lap and caressed by uttering words of sympathy. From the age of three or four years onwards, they are engaged to do light duties, and if the commands are not carried on properly, they are rebuked and also beaten in some cases. It has been observed that advice after punishment is given only in rare cases. It also appears from the life history of Rakshit that his brother would even beat him if he threw himself on the ground, whereas, his clan-aunt pulled his ears for quarrelling with other children, and then, advised him not to play with them any more. Hari mentioned that his father only rebuked him, whereas, his mother would beat him and then advised him not to do bad things, and afterwards, they caressed him. On the other hand, it appears from an anecdote of Mangal's life history that if he quarrelled with other boys or damaged other peoples' things, then his mother used to beat him and did not give him meals. Nitai has mentioned that when his parents went out, they advised him not to quarrel with other boys and not to leave the house, because the few utensiles they had, might have been stolen. It happened sometimes that he left the house but returned when he remembered his parents' advice.

It may be concluded that during the early age of the child, the older siblings act as disciplinarians, and from four or five years of age, parents act as punishing agents. After punishment, advice is given occasionally but generally speaking, there is no evidence of rewarding the children for good behaviour.

Tantrum

The author has observed that the small children who want to accompany the mother but not taken by her, have shown tantrums by throwing themselves on the ground, and in such cases, the older siblings console the child. Children who are comparatively old also manifest annoyance when food is not given on demand or any of their demands are not met with. In such cases, they usually throw themselves on the ground, spoil the food, break the utensils and so on. Often they rebuke the mother and went away. In many cases, the mother brings the child back and tries to give solace by giving food or by caressing. In some instances (Hari's life history), they are simply caught when they go out and beaten again.

CHAPTER FOUR

LATE CHILDHOOD

This period generally covers the time from wearing the loin cloth or employed as a cowherd at the age of six or seven years to the onset of puberty.

Wearing the Loin Cloth and Employment as a Cowherd

At the age of six or seven years (four or five years for the girls), they generally wear loin cloth and are employed as a cowherd. So long, they were whiling away their time but now they are recognized as more or less helping members of the family. Some of them work as cowherds for three or four months in a year, some on yearly basis, and in many cases, they sleep in their houses at night. Those who remain in the house, attend domestic duties, such as fetching water, cleaning utensils, sprinkling cow-dung water in the house, cooking when necessary and drying paddy in the sun. Over and above these, they look after the siblings when the parents are out. If the child is a girl, then she often attends domestic duties of comparatively rich people. The boys generally use loin cloth by their own initiative. However, in many cases, they are advised by their parents to do so, and in some instances, they are even threatened with dire consequences as is evidenced from the life history record of Rakshit.

Life as a Cowherd, Play Privilege and Discipline

It has already been mentioned that they are a very poor people and so, they are compelled to employ their children as cowherds at an early age. When an opportunity for employment comes, not only the parents but these starving children as well, welcome this good chance.

It has been observed as well as it also appears from the life history records that in order to satiate hunger, they usually steal fruits from other peoples' gardens. It seems that stealing is not only caused by aggression but it is also the outcome of hunger, especially when eatable things are stolen, and as such, these hungry children have got no other alternative but to take recourse to this habit, which in certain cases, appears to be permanently ingrained in them. However, to revert to the original theme, it may be said

that in the house of the employer, they live in security but not always in peace as they are often ill-treated. It is not unlikely that the ill-treatment meted out to them gives rise to aggression which is generally suppressed under the circumstances, but later on, in their adult life, it appears to be manifested in criminal activities. But there are bright sides as well, as for examples, it is in the employers' houses, they learn mastery over the external world, that is, they are trained in agricultural as well as in other domestic work which are so essential for their livelihood.

Upto the age of ten or twelve years, they work as cowherds and attend domestic work, and from twelve or thirteen years, they are trained in agricultural work. During this period, they discard loin cloth for napkin and cloth, and their prestige is enhanced as they have now become useful members of the society.

Food

If not employed and remain in the house, they usually take rice in water in the morning as well as in the midday, but when accompanying the mother in the field, they take puffed or parched rice along with the mother, and on return home in the evening, they take rice with vegetables or fish if it is available. From the age of six or seven years, the grown-up boys take their meals separately.

When employed as a cowherd, they take puffed rice in the morning, then go to the field to graze cattle, return home in the midday, do domestic work, take their midday meal, rest for sometime, and then go to the field again to return home after dusk. Then they take their night-meal and return home for sleeping.

Though their food as cowherds appears to be much better than that usually taken at home, some of these boys do not hesitate to take recourse to occasional stealing in order to procure better food, as for instance, Mahendra took recourse to occasional stealing when he worked at the house of the employer.

Play

They usually play football with tennis balls or with shaddock, marble, dangguti, hadudu and a game known as Ram, Lakshman, Bharat and Satrughna. The girls of six or seven years of age do not generally play but attend to domestic duties.

The boys who remain employed have got less opportunities for playing than those who remain at home, because the latter attend domestic duties rarely and that is also under pressure. They while away their time in carrying the siblings (mostly done by the girls), playing, stealing fruits and gossiping. However, references to life

histories will show that daring boys availed opportunities for playing, and consequently, they were rebuked and even beaten by the employer.

Discipline

It appears that as most of the boys engage themselves as cowherds during this period, their behaviour patterns are generally influenced by the employers who act as disciplinary agents. During this time, they attain mastery over their environment to a considerable extent by acquiring skills in different manual activities which help them to lead a successful adult life in future.

It is evident from the life histories that many of these boys have been ill-treated though some of them have also been treated with affection by the employers, as for example, Mangal has stated that his employer gave him good food and had never betean him. He only rebuked him for not working properly.

Persons who act as disciplinarians to the boys who remain at home, are usually the parents. An anecdote from the life history of Hari Bhakta shows that his father beat him severely for stealing mangoes from another man's garden, and later on, he was employed a cowherd.

Sex

It appears from the life histories that in most of the cases, there is no evidence of sexual activities or sex play. However, it appears from the life history of Mangal that at the age of ten or twelve years, he used to play with the girls, often assuming the role of a husband.

Aggression

It appears from the life histories that they appear to be less aggressive during this period. Temper tantrums which marked the earlier life completely vanish at this stage. It appears that only in three cases, instances of aggression are found in the life history records.

The author had ample opportunities to observe them while playing. They were often engaged in hot altercations but did never take recourse to serious quarrelling. Once the author engaged two boys equally healthy and of the same age in a combat. They did not at first take it seriously and began to fight in a humorous mood. As the combat progressed, it took a serious turn and ended in a real fight.

CHAPTER FIVE

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE AND SEX

Ceremonies for the first menstruation are observed for the girls but there are no formal ceremonies for the boys in order to mark the onset of puberty. However, the boys acquire an implicit status when they discard the loin cloth for napkin or cloth. They have learnt how to till land, graze cattle, work as labourers and so on. They have now become useful members of the society. They are considered by the employer as well as by the parents as grown-up persons. The employer's attitude is now changed to some extent. He talks to them mildly and supply them with good food in case they work satisfactorily. On the other hand, if they do not attend their duties properly, they are rebuked and even beaten in some cases by the employer as well as by the parents. If they wish, they can now live independently by working in the house or by engaging themselves as labourers. Yet in most of the cases, they work at the employer's house, because this is the time for their marriage and as they have no money to pay the bride-price, they generally take advance from the employer for this purpose. In some cases, the employer also settles the marriage. Those who are not employed and cannot afford to pay the bride-price, remain in the house of the bride for a year or two, and then marry the girl, though in certain circumstances, such marriages fall through. It also appears that in most cases, brides are selected by the parents or elder brothers, and generally, such marriages take place, though in some cases, the would-be bride-groom shows reluctance when the bride is not beautiful. In some cases, they see the bride before the marriage though it is not followed as a general practice. After marriage the man usually lives with his wife in the parental house. However, in most of the cases, this arrangement soon ceases to exist as the relation between the in-laws is not generally congenial as evidenced from the anecdotes in the life histories of Mahendra, Govinda and others. In such a case, the man either builds a house or lives separately though remains in the same house.

It also appears that at this period, they also take recourse to love making. In discussing the sexual life of these people, it may be said that offering of betel leaves or nuts by a girl at least shows friendship which may end in love or promiscuous relation. Unless a love affair is reported to the parents or to the headman, these people do not take any serious notice of it. Such

affair is implicitly recognized as a natural phenomenon in this culture. There are evidences that not only these people but even the local zamindars keep concubines, and even extra-marital relations are not rare. In some cases, mariage also takes place with the beloved, as for example, Nitai married the woman of his love. It also appears that love-making is being carried out occasionally at the instigation of a third party, as for instance, the brother of the girl often helps in such matter. On the other hand Hari has mentioned that women should not be believed as 'women and bullocks are untrustworthy.'

FORMS OF PERSONALITY

In the previous chapters, an attempt has been made to discuss various influences on the personality structure during formative period. In this chapter, a further discussion has been carried on the forms of personality as manifested through behaviour patterns.

It appears that in this culture, status is dependent on the following factors: Age, sex, wealth and special proclivities. Children and women are debarred from cultural goals, though the latter work side by side with men in many cases. However, there is only one cultural status accredited to old women and that is the status of a witch. Wealth factor generally influences the selection of a headman. Moreover, financial position is also inherited through kinship. So wealth status appears to be formalized in these respects. Only one source of status is obtained through kinship and that is the office of the village priest. Other socially acknowledged statuses are those of medicineman and spirit-possessed man, which are not inherited. In the past, they wielded great social power because they were looked upon as the only dependable agents in curing diseases as well as driving evil spirits from the possessed. Moreover, the spirit-possessed men were famous for their prediction of future events, and in order to avert a calamity, the people would do according to their advice, and thus, they would be relieved of mental tension causing anxiety. Now the case is more or less the reverse. They are no doubt acknowledged but not recognized as sources of great power.

The author has observed that they only practise as spirit-possessed men after attending their day-to-day activities, and so, they should not be considered as under-developed in mastery techniques which are so essential for their livelihood.

There is no evidence of institutionalized wealth contest. Mahendra mentioned that he boasted to the people about his wealth when he quarrelled with people. Ramhari has mentioned that comparatively rich people do exhibit informally their prosperous condition. They say, 'We have more land and more money, so why should we bother about you people.' They do not care to attend even the village council.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIO-CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PERSONALITY FORMATION

Early Childhood

In order to evaluate the personality determinants of this culture, as revealed from what have been said in earlier chapters, an attempt has been made here by following the technique developed by Kardiner (1) to tract down the formative influences in which the child is exposed.

It has already been mentioned that these people are so much poverty-stricken that the mother is compelled to go out, leaving the child in care of a sibling or an older member of the family. In some cases, the child is taken away by the mother in her place of work. So it appears that though the child gets nourishment to relieve it from hunger tension, it is not certainly properly looked after, and so, hunger tension is likely to be frustrating. As the mother is absent throughout the day, the child cannot develop any strong attachment to her, and naturally, she is not considered as a dependable object. In such circumstances, anxiety and inhibitions can only result, and thus, ego-involvement in activities, which is so essential for mastery over the external world, is not likely to take place.

It has already been mentioned that toilet training, in most of the cases, is not given but they acquire this habit through their own initiative. Moreover, they are not exposed to any restrictive disciplines in this connection, at least upto the age of three or four years. On the other hand, it may be said with regard to walking and talking that though some deliberate attempts are made by the parents to train them, it appears that in the majority of the cases, the siblings under whose care they are left, at least try to train them by way of playing. In other words, they learn these habits by way of imitation in most of the cases.

So it appears that these children being deprived of training facilities, experience great difficulties in achieving their ends and so, these failures cannot contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards the external world. Moreover, these attitudes contribute very little to the formation of the ego as well as ego-ideal.

With regard to general discipline, it appears that both older siblings and parents act as disciplinarians. Though advices are given in some cases with regard to a wrong action, it seems that in most cases, there is lack of any reward system in this culture, and hence, there is no inflation of parental imago on the average. On the other hand, suppressed hostilities towards parents are enhanced. Moreover, all these factors are likely to contribute to a defective super ego formation, because in the absence of any reward system, the internalization of the parental ideal is likely to be incomplete.

With regard to sexual discipline, it may be stated that the children generally sleep with the mother upto the age of five or six years, and so, they have ample opportunity to witness the parental coitus. Moreover, the mother occasionally does not hesitate to bestow too much affection on the child, and all these help to develop considerable attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the frustrations caused by her. So the child develops ambivalent feelings towards the mother. On the other hand, the part played by the father in rearing during early childhood is less important than that of the mother. So he is not looked upon as a frustrating agent as the mother at this stage, and so, hostility towards him is likely to be comparatively less. It also appears that sexual activities are moderately permissive as evidenced from the accounts of Kishta and Nitai.

So it may be said that father's sexual part in relation to the mother, permissive sexual activities and attachment to her, are the factors that contribute to the development of Oedipus complex.

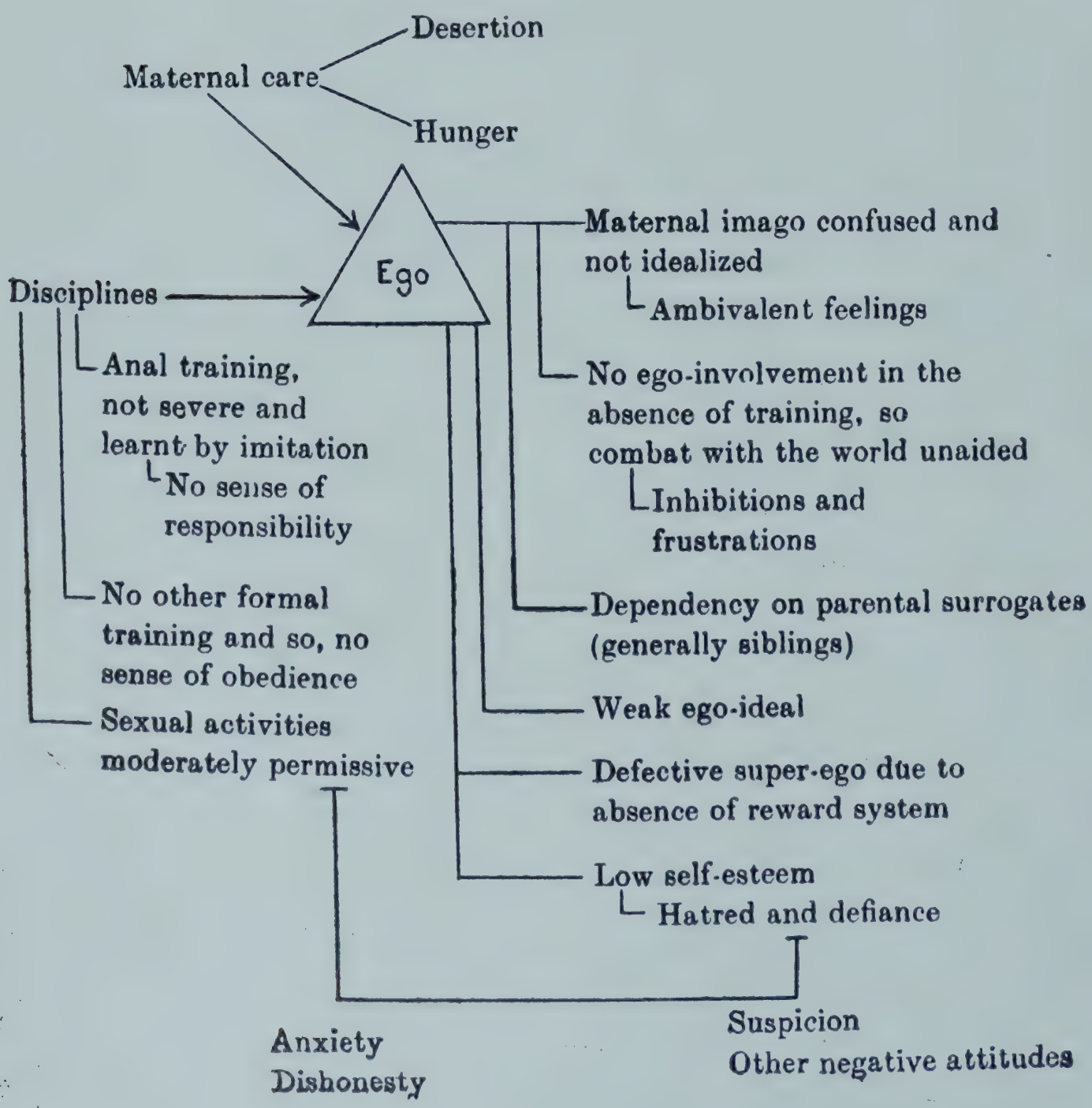
Sibling rivalry is not marked in this culture, and the author thinks that this is not unnatural, because the older siblings act as mother-substitutes, which means additional burden on their shoulders, for they also attend domestic duties in the absence of their mothers. So it is natural that their feelings of hatred towards the mother are likely to soften the ambivalent feelings among themselves.

The circumstances leading to temper-tantrums have already been described. It appears that the ambivalent feelings towards the mother and the irresponsibility induced in them due to the absence of proper training, are the factors responsible for causing tantrums.

It may be said in conclusion that maternal care and the disciplines, that is, anal training (not severe and hence no sense of

responsibility), absence of any other formal training (so no sense of obedience), and moderately permissive sexual activities influence the ego-structure in the following manner : maternal imago is confused and not idealized ; no ego-involvement in activities due to frustration and inhibition. Weak ego-ideal and defective super-ego due to absence of reward system ; fear of the outer world, and no mastery due to absence of training. Moreover, hatred and defiance towards the mother have given rise to tantrums, and all these are likely to cause anxiety, dishonesty, suspicion and other negative attitudes. These are the integrative units of early childhood when the personality is not stabilized. The integrative units are given below :

Integrative Units of Early Childhood



CHAPTER SEVEN

LATE CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Late Childhood

During late childhood, most of the boys receive formal training while executing their duties in the house of the employers. It is the employer who helps him to attain some sort of mastery over the external world, which contributes to the formation of his ego-ideal. Moreover, their self-assertion which is so long nearly absent is enhanced, and the fear of the outer world is diminished at this stage.

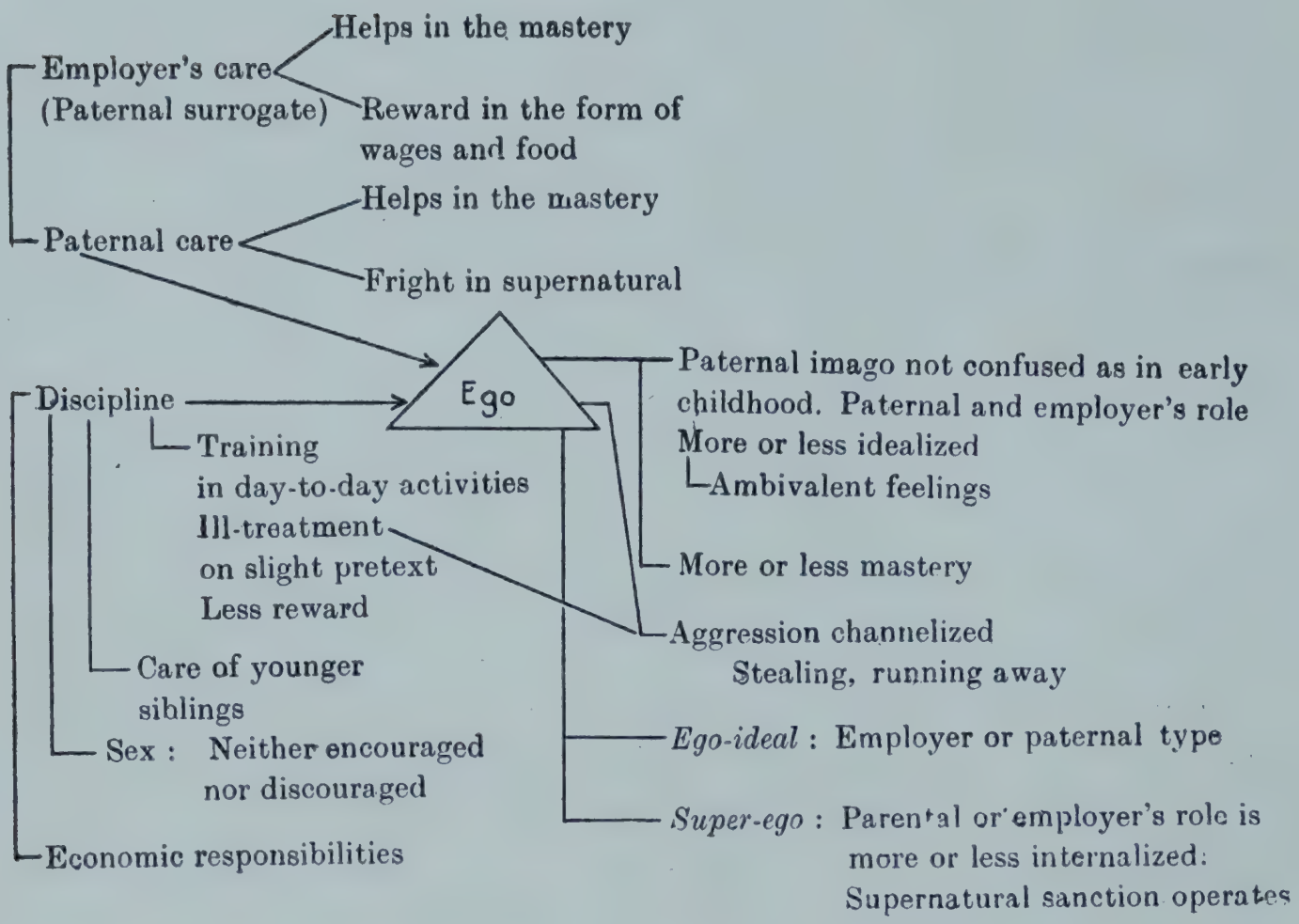
Aggression is channelized in various ways, that is, through their mastery over the world. In other words, mastery is attained through their activities as cowherds, which have now made them useful members of the society, and so, they also feel self-assured. It is also channelized through stealing which is an expression of vengeance against the employer and parents. The ill-treatment meted out to them either by the employer or by the parents is no doubt provocative. However, pent-up emotions, expressed in such a case, are manifested by their running away either from the house of the employer or from their own houses.

It may be noted that self-esteem, so long absent, appears to develop at this stage as the boy now thinks that he has got economic responsibilities along with his parents.

In such circumstances, paternal or employer's role is more or less idealized, and so, their ego-ideals lean to paternal or employer type. Tonicity of the super ego is maintained by supernatural sanctions as well as fear of punishment from the employer or parents.

The influence of paternal and employers' care as well as disciplines on the ego-structures of these boys in general, is shown in the following chart.

Integrative Units of Late Childhood



Adolescence, Marriage and Sex

There are no puberty rites for the boys, yet, at this stage of life, the boy acquires a new implicit status. He is now an useful member of the society. He discards his loin cloth for cloth or napkin, and he is now trained on different aspects of agricultural work. Due to his economic responsibilities, his self-esteem and ego-involvement are enhanced.

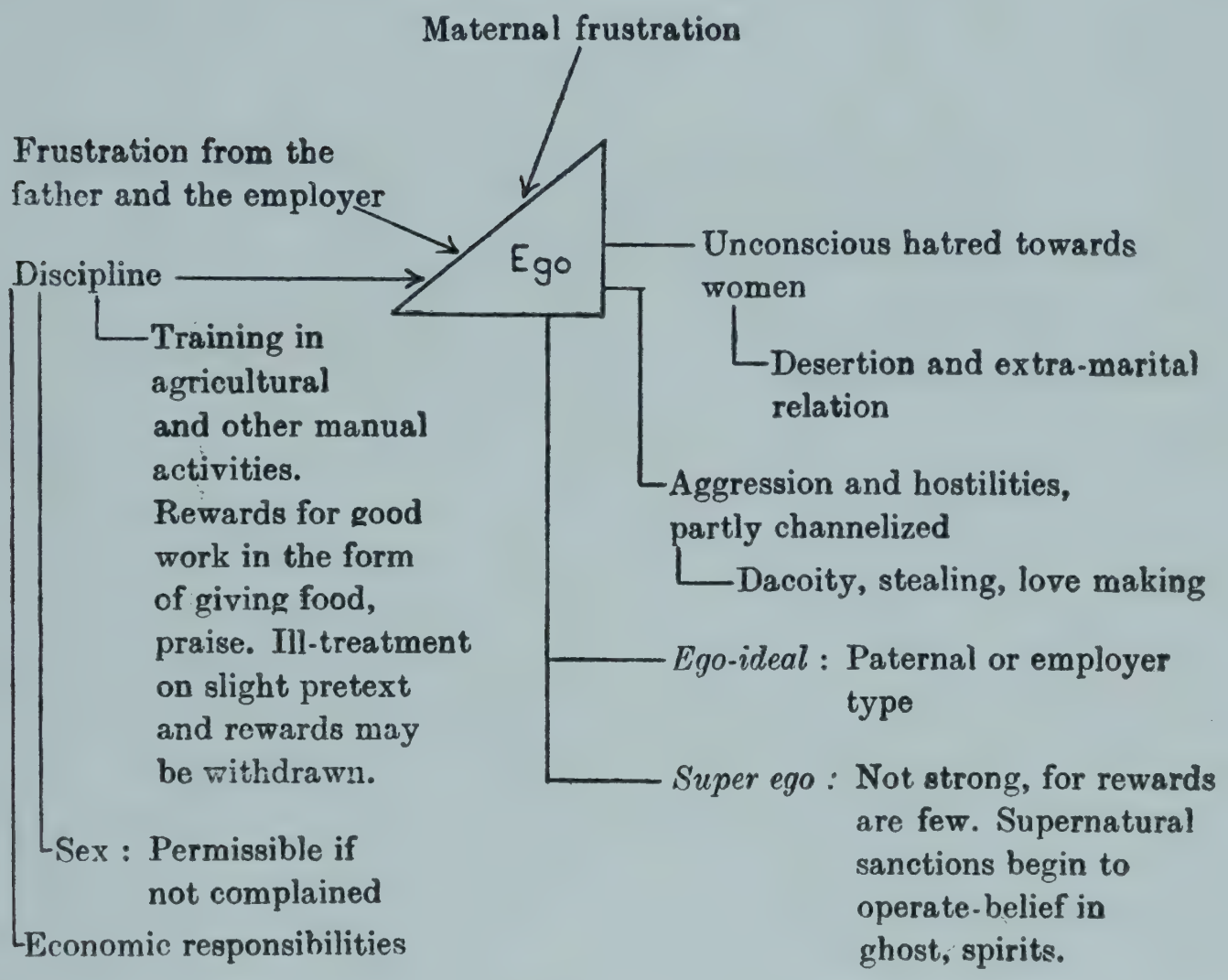
His feeling towards the father and the employer is one of ambivalence. He is praised and given good food for his work, and at the same time, he is also reprimanded on slight pretext. Even favour like arranging his marriage may be withdrawn by both the father and the employer. So it is natural that he develops aggression and hostility towards them. However, these are channelized through love-making, dacoity and stealing.

It has already been mentioned that the wife is sometime approached with fear and sense of distrust. The love affair is discontinued by the boy on slight pretext. Over and above, extra-marital relation, divorce and desertion are also not rare. It appears that these manifestations are due to their unconscious hatred towards the mother, caused by maternal frustrations in childhood.

The boy gets few rewards for his good work, and hence, fear of punishment cannot be too deeply internalized, and for this reason, the super ego is not strong. This is evident from the fact that their activities do not help to bring about any social cohesion.

The influence of disciplines and frustrations caused by the parents and the employer on the development of ego-structure is shown below.

Integrative Units of Adolescene


Maternal frustration
Frustration from the father and the employer
Discipline
Ego
Unconscious hatred towards women
Desertion and extra-marital relation
Training in agricultural and other manual activities. Rewards for good work in the form of giving food, praise. Ill-treatment on slight pretext and rewards may be withdrawn.
Aggression and hostilities, partly channelized
Dacoity, stealing, love making
Sex : Permissible if not complained
Economic responsibilities
Ego-ideal : Paternal or employer type
Super ego : Not strong, for rewards are few. Supernatural sanctions begin to operate-belief in ghost, spirits.

PERSONALITY STRUCTURE AS REVEALED FROM THE RORSCHACH

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROBLEM

An attempt has been made here to compare the group personality structure of the typical Lodha with that of the spirit-possessed men among them with the help of the Rorschach technique.

Analysis of the Findings

The composite profile of the groups has been given in Table 1.

Table 1

Quantitative Results of the Rorschach Test Administered to 11 Typical Lodha and 6 Spirit-possessed men : Average Scores, Ratios and Percentages of Various Rorschach Categories.

Rorschach Categories	Spirit-possessed men	Typical Lodha
Total Responses (R)	9.17	13.73
Responses to cards 8, 9 and 10	3.00 (32.73%R)	4.91 (35.76%R)
Manner of Approach		
Wholes (W)	3.33 (W% 36.36)	4.45 (W% 32.45)
Usual Large Details (D)	5.50 (D% 60.00)	9.00 (D% 65.56)
Rare Details and/or Space (DdS)	0.33 (DdS% 3.64)	0.27 (DdS% 1.99)
Movement Responses		
Human (M)	0.00	0.18
Animal (FM)	0.17	0.36
Abstract (mF)	0.00	0.18
Colour Responses		
Form Colour (FC)	0.00	0.55
Colour Form (CF)	0.17 (Sum C : 0.17)	1.27 (Sum C : 1.55)
Shading Responses		
Diffusion (KF)	0.17	1.00
Texture : Differentiated (Fc)	0.33	0.55
Undifferentiated (cF)	0.00	0.09
Achromatic (C')	0.17	0.36
Pure Form : F+	6.83 (F+% 83.70)	7.73 (F+% 84.20)
F	8.16 (F% 89.09)	9.18 (F% 66.89)
F−	1.33 (F−% 16.30)	1.45 (F−% 15.80)
A—Responses	54.55%	41.06%
H—Responses	1.82%	7.28%
(H)—Responses	20.00%	3.31%

Rorschach Categories	Sprit-possessed men	Typical Lodha
Ratios: W : M	3.33 : 0.00	4.45 : 0.18
M : FM	0.00 : 0.17	0.18 : 0.36
M : SumC	0.00 : 0.17	0.18 : 1.55
FC : CF	0.00 : 0.17	0.55 : 1.27
FM+mF : Fc+cF+C′	0.17 : 0.50	0.54 : 1.00
Fc+cF+C′ : Sum C	0.50 : 0.17	1.00 : 1.55

Mental Approach

The *mental approach* shows whether the person is sufficiently observant to handle a situation as a whole or in parts by applying common sense, critical ability and abstract reasoning power.

It appears from Table 1 that the average mental approach of the two goroups isW D DdS, that is, they have mainfested common sense (D emphasized) and reasoning power (W emphasized) to deal with the problems of life (5). However, when the individual variations of the groups from the 'normal' approach are compared, it appears from Tables 2-4 that the respective percentages of

Table 2

Whole Responses (W%)

Groups	0	< 10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-45%	45-60%	> 60%
Spirit-possessed men	—	—	16.70	—	66.67	16.67	—
Lodha	—	9.09	27.27	9.09	9.09	36.36	9.09

Table 3

Large Detail Responses (D%)

Groups	<30%	30-45%	45-55%	55-65%	65-80%	> 80%
Spirit-possessed men	—	33.33	16.67	16.67	16.67	16.67
Lodha	—	9.09	36.36	9.09	18.18	27.27

Table 4

Unusual Details and Space Responses (DdS%)

Groups	0	< 10%	10-15%	15-20%	20-25%	> 25%
Spirit-possessed men	66.67	—	33.33	—	—	—
Lodha	81.82	9.09	9.09	—	—	—

the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha, having 'normal' W D DdS are 0 and 9.09 for W, 16.67 nd 36.36 for D and 0 and 9.09 for DdS. In other words, no one among the spirit-possessed men has shown normal approach in W and DdS.

It also appears from the same tables that the respective per-

centages of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 16.17 and 36.36 for W under emphasis, 83.34 and 54.54 for D over emphasis, 66.67 and 81.82 for DdS under emphasis and 33.33 and 9.09 for DdS over emphasis.

It may be concluded that though the groups do not differ in average *mental approach,* they have nevertheless shown considerable variations in this respect.

Intellectual Aspect: Number and Quality of W

The average W responses (Table 1) of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are found to be 3.33 and 4.45 respectively, and the difference is found to be slightly in favour of the latter group. In other words, the Lodha appear to be slightly superior to the spirit-possessed men in so far as thinking in abstract terms as manifested by this sign is concerned.

Number and Quality of M

The average M responses (Table 1) have been found to be 0.00 and 0.18 for the spirit-possessed men and Lodha respectively. It may be said in view of this finding that the spirit-possessed men have not shown any creative potentiality though their counterparts have shown some amount of creative energy.

It appears from Table 5 which shows various values of M responses that the respective percentages of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 100 and 81.82 in 0M and 0 and 18.18 in 1M. In other words, only 18.18% of the Lodha have produced a single

Table 5

Human Movement Responses (M)

Groups	0M	1M	2 or more M
Spirit-possessed men	100.00%	—	—
Lodha	81.82%	18.18%	—

M, that is, there is very little difference in M production though it is slightly in favour of the Lodha.

The Number of F Responses

It is evident from Table 1 that the F% of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 89.09 and 66.89 respectively, whereas, F+% of these respective groups are found to be 83.70 and 84.20.

It may be mentioned that F% over 50 indicate rigidity and constriction (6), whereas, F% between 80 and 90 reveal

intellectual control and good relation with reality. If the groups are now scrutinized in view of this criteria, it appears that both the groups have shown rigidity on the average though they have shown good relation with reality.

It appears from Table 6 that 100% of the spirit-possessed men have obtained F% over 80, whereas, the percentages of their

Table 6

Various Values of F%

Groups	< 20%	40%	50%	80%	> 80%
Spirit-possessed men	—	—	—	—	100
Lodha	—	9.09	9.09	54.55	27.27

counterparts are 9.09 for 40F%, 9.09 for 50F%, 54.55 for 80F% and 27.27 for 100F%. In other words, 18.18% of the Lodha have not shown rigidity, whereas, the remaining 81.82% of these subjects are as rigid as the spirit-possessed men though the degree of rigidity is more marked in the latter group. To put it in a different way, it may be said that though the groups have shown rigidity on the average, the individual variations between the groups are marked in this respect.

Number of A Responses

It appears from Table 1 that the A% of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 54.55 and 41.06 respectively. It has been accepted by the Rorschach experts (6) that A% over 50 shows stereotypy. If the groups are now considered in view of this criterion, it appears that when compared to the Lodha, the spirit-possessed men have shown stereotypy on the average.

The Proportion W : M

Table 1 shows that the average W : M ratios for the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 3.33 : 0.00 and 4.45 : 0.18 respectively.

According to the interpretative significance of this ratio (6, 7) when the proportion of W : M is 2-3 : 1, it shows a favourable relationship between capacity for abstract thought and phantasy life, whereas, an excess of W suggests overriding ambition. On the other hand, xW: 0M indicates hankering after creation in the absence of phantasy life. If the groups are now judged in view of the above criteria, it appears that both the groups have manifested overiding ambition on the average. Moreover, the spirit-possessed men have also shown hankering after creation in the absence of phantasy life.

Table 7

Relations of W and M

Groups	W > M	W = M	W < M
Spirit-possessed men	100.00%	—	—
Lodha	90.91%	9.09	—

It appears from Table 7 that the respective percentages of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 100 and 90.91 in W>M and 0 and 9.09 in W=M, that is, only 9.09% of the Lodha have shown a balance between creative potential and creative manifestation.

The Emotional Life: Contact with Reality: FC Responses

It appears from Table 1 that the average FC responses of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 0.00 and 0.55 respectively. FC responses (6) show controlled emotional responsiveness, that is, socialized responsiveness towards the emotional impact of the social environment. If the groups are now considered in view of this criterion, it may be said that only the Lodha group has shown on the average controlled emotional responsiveness to some extent.

Table 8

Various Values of FC Responses

Groups	0FC	1FC	2FC	3FC
Spirit-possessed men	100%	—	—	—
Lodha	72.73%	—	37.37%	—

It appears from Table 8 that 100% and 72.73% of the respective spirit-possessed men and Lodha groups have obtained 0FC as against 0% and 37.37% of the respective subjects of these two groups, securing 2FC. In other words, more than one-third of the Lodha subjects have shown controlled emotional responsiveness towards the social environment.

The Ratio FC : CF and/or C

It is evident from Table 1 that the average FC : CF and/or C ratios are 0.00 : 0.17 and 0.55 : 1.27 for the spirit-possessed men and Lodha respectively.

It has already been accepted by the Rorschach experts (6) that the ratio FC>CF+C reveals controlled emotional responsiveness towards the environment, whereas, the pattern FC<CF+C shows uncontrolled emotional responsiveness. On the other hand, FC=CF+C manifests a balance between controlled and uncontrolled emotional responsiveness. If the groups are now compared among themselves with regard to the above criteria, it appears that both the groups have shown uncontrolled emotional responsiveness on the average, though it is more marked in case of the spirit-possessed men.

Table 9

Comparison of FC, CF and C Responses

Groups	FC>CF and/orC	FC=CF and/or C		FC<CF and/or C
		0FC=0CF and or C	xFC=xCF and/or C	
Spirit-possessed men		83.33%		
	—		—	16.67%
Lodha	18.18%	9.09%	27.27%	45.45%

It appears from Table 9 that the percentages of the respective spirit-possessed and Lodha subjects are 0 and 18.18 in FC>CF and/or C, 83.33 and 9.09 in 0FC=0FC and/or C, 0 and 27.27 in xFC=xCF and/or C and 16.67 and 45.45 in FC<CF and/or C. In other words, only 18.18% of the Lodha have shown controlled emotional tendency as against none among the spirit-possessed men, whereas, 16.67% and 45.45% of these respective groups have manifested uncontrolled emotional tendency. On the other hand, 83.33% and 9.09% of the respective spirit-possessed and Lodha groups have shown absence of controlled and uncontrolled emotional tendency.

THE Fc, cF and c RESPONSES

Table 1 shows that none of the subjects has produced any c response. The average Fc responses have been found to be 0.33 and 0.55 for the spirit-possessed and Lodha groups respectively, whereas, their average cF responses are 0.00 and 0.09 for these two respective groups, that is, there is no marked difference between the groups with regard to these signs.

Table 10

Various Values of Fc Responses

Groups	0	1	2	3 or more
Spirit-possessed men	66.67%	33.33%	—	—
Lodha	54.55%	36.36%	9.09%	—

Table 10 shows the percentages of subjects who have produced Fc responses with varying degrees of emphasis. It appears from the table that 66.67% and 54.55% of the respective spirit-possessed and Lodha groups have not produced any Fc response. On the other hand, only 9.09% of the Lodha have produced 2 Fc responses.

Klopfer (7) has mentioned that Fc responses indicate an awareness and acceptance of affectional needs, that is, it reveals meaningful object relationship. If the groups are now judged in view of

this criterion, it appears that the majority of the subjects of the two groups have not shown meaningful object relationship, though one-third of the spirit-possessed men and a little less than half of the Lodha have revealed this tendency.

Ties with Inner Life : The Proportion M : FM

It appears from Table 1 that the average M : FM ratios for the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 0.00 : 0.17 and 0.18 : 0.36 respectively. In other words, both the groups have shown preponderance of FM over M though in case of the former group, the value of M is 0.

Table 11

Relation of M and FM Responses

Groups	0 (M, FM)	M>FM	M=FM	M<FM
Spirit-possessed men	83.33%	—	—	16.67%
Lodha	45.45%	18.18%	—	36.36%

Table 11 shows different values of M : FM. It appears from this table that the respective percentages of spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 83.33 and 45.45 in 0(M, FM), 0 and 18.18 in M>FM and 16.67 and 36.36 in M<FM.

According to Rorschach experts(7), M and FM responses reveal the nature of phantasy, that is, whether it is directed to creative activity or instinctual gratification. As for example, M>FM signifies inner maturity, that is, the impulse life is subordinated to the value system of the individual, whereas, the ratio M<FM suggests immaturity, that is, the individual is ruled by the immediate need for gratification. If the groups are now judged in view of the above criteria, it appears that the great majority of the spirit-possessed men and nearly half of the Lodha have shown neither creative activity nor instinctual drives. On the other hand, only 18.18% of the Lodha have shown inner maturity as against 16.67% and 36.36% of these respective groups, manifesting immaturity.

The Ratio M : SumC

It appears from Table 1 that the average M : Sum C ratios for the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 0.00 : 0.17 and 0.18 : 1.55 respectively, that is, both the groups have shown extratensive tendency on the average. It also appears from the same table that the average FM+mF : Fc+cF+C′ ratios for these two respective groups are 0.17 : 0.50 and 0.54 : 1.00.

Klopfer (7) has mentioned that the ratio FM+m : FC+c+C′ may either confirm or contradict the extratensive or introversive tendencies as revealed by the ratio M : Sum C, and in case it is in the same direction as M : Sum C, it confirms the impression given by the latter. If the groups are now judged in view of the above criterion, it seems that both the groups have shown confirmed extratensive tendencies on the average.

Table 12

Comparison of Introversive, Ambiequal, Coarcted and Extratensive types of Subjects in the two Groups

Groups	Coarcted	Ambiequal	Introversive	Extratensive
	0M : 0Sum C	xM : xSumC	xM : 0SumC xM>ySumC	0M : xSumC xM<ySumC
Spirit-possessed men	83.33%	—	—	16.67%
Lodha	27.27%	—	9.09%	63.64%

Table 12 shows the percentage of extratensive, introversive, coarcted and ambiequal types of subjects. It may be said in view of this table that the percentages among the spirit-possessed and the Lodha subjects are 83.33 and 27.27 with regard to coarcted type, 0 and 9.09 for introversive tendency and 16.67 and 63.64 for extratensive tendency. In other words, the majority of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha subjects have shown coarcted and extratensive tendencies respectively. On the other hand, only 9.09% of the Lodha have shown introversive tendency.

Table 13

FM+mF : FC+c+C′ Responses in relation to M : Sum C Responses

Groups	Subjects having		
	M>SumC	M=SumC	M<SumC
	FM+mF>Fc+c+C′	FM+mF=Fc+c+C′	FM+mF<Fc+c+C′
Spirit-possessed men	—	—	—
Lodha	—	—	27.27%

In view of tables 12 and 13, it may be said that out of 63.64% of Lodha subjects, only 27.27% of them have shown confirmed extratensive tendency.

Responses K and KF

It is evident from Table 1 that no one has secured any K, whereas, average KF responses of the respective spirit-possessed and Lodha groups are found to be 0.17 and 1.00, that is, they have shown marked difference on the average, which is in favour of the Lodha.

Table 14

Various Values of KF	*Responses*			
Groups	0KF	1KF	2KF	3KF
Spirit-possessed men	83.33%	16.67%	—	—
Lodha	54.55%	18.18%	—	27.27%

Table 14 shows different values of KF responses. It appears from this table that the percentages of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 83.33 and 54.55 in 0KF, 16.67 and 18.18 in 1KF and 0 and 27.27 in 3 KF. Klopfer (7) has mentioned that K, KF responses indicate vague anxiety of free-floating type and in order to make it significant, at least 3 such signs should be present in a record. If the groups are now judged in view of this criterion, it appears that only 27.27% of the Lodha have shown significant anxiety.

Ratio Fc+c+C′: Sum C

It appears from Table 1 that the average Fc+c+C' : sumC ratios for the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 0.50 : 0.17 and 1.00 : 1.55 respectively.

Klopfer has pointed out that if the achromatic responses exceed the chromatic ones in the ratio 2:1, then over-cautiousness in emotional contact is indicated, whereas, when the shading responses are outnumbered two to one by the colour responses, the affectional need does not unduly influence the natural responsiveness to emotional situations. If the groups are now considered in view of these criteria, it appears that the spirit-possessed men have shown on the average over-cautiousness in emotional contact.

The Basic Type

It signifies the proportion of M responses to colour responses (6). Though the full significance of this term, designated by Rorschach as *Erlebnystyp* has not yet been fully established (8, 9), the researches so far done on this line, indicate that *Erlebnystyp* may be considered as the basic potential type of reaction. It has also been observed that the basic type is highly resistent to change, so much so that, it can remain unchanged even in the face of serious personality disturbances (10).

It has already been stated that the group personalities of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha have shown extratensive tendency. However, when the individual variations are considered, it appears from Table 12 that 83.33% of the spirit-possessed men and 63.64% of the Lodha have manifested coarcted and

extratensive tendencies respectively. *In other words, the majority of the subjects of the two groups belong to two distinct basic types,* namely, coarcted and extratensive respectively.

Content H, (H), Hd and (Hd)

H and Hd responses show interest or ability of the individual to accept or identify with others. Similarly, it may be said that (H) and (Hd) responses reveal interest of the individual in mythological or supernatural beings as well as in printed figures. In the latter case, phantasy is being pushed away from conscious awareness. Table 15 shows the percentages of persons giving H, (H), Hd and (Hd) responses. It appears from this table that the

Table 15

Percentage of persons giving H+Hd and (H)+(Hd) Responses

Content	Spirit-possessed men	Lodha
H+Hd	16.67%	36.36%
(H)+(Hd)	66.67%	45.45%

percentages of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha are 16.67 and 36.36 in H+Hd responses and 66.67 and 45.45 in (H)+(Hd) responses. To put it in a different way, it may be said that 16.67% and 36.36% of the spirit-possessed men and the Lodha have shown interest in human figures as against 66.67% and 45.45% of the subjects of these respective groups, showing interest in mythological figures. In other words, the big majority of the spirit-possessed men have shown interest in ghosts and spirits as against less than half of the Lodha, showing interest in deities and printed human figures. (H) and (Hd) responses refer to mythological beings, such as ghosts and spirits in case of the spirit-possessed men, whereas, with regard to Lodha, these refer to deities and printed human figures.

Table 16

H and (H)% of the individuals of the two groups

Spirit-possessed men		H%	(H)%	No.	Lodha H%	(H)%
1	Hari	—	22.22	1	5.88	—
2	Govinda	—	—	2	23.08	7.69
3	Rakshit	—	28.57	3	—	8.33
4	Govardhan	8.33	8.33	4	—	6.67
5	Mahendra	—	—	5	—	—
6	Nagen	—	85.71	6	—	—
				7	—	9.09
				8	—	5.56
				9	23.53	—
				10	23.08	—
				11	—	—

It appears from Table 16 that only two spirit-possessed men have not secured any (H), whereas, the others with the exception of Govardhan have obtained high (H)% than the Lodha subjects, and the difference appears to be marked in favour of the spirit-possessed men.

CHAPTER NINE

INTERPRETATION

It appears that on the average both the groups are more 'subjective' as well as 'objective' but less critical, when confronted with the reality situation. However, when the individual variations are considered, it appears that there are many more spirit-possessed men with marked subjective and critical inclination.

Both the groups have shown very little integrative thinking because of absence of creative potentiality, though some amount of creative power has been manifested by one-fourth of the Lodha subjects. Both the groups have shown on the average overriding ambition. However, there are many more persons among the spirit-possessed men who have shown hankering after creation in the absence of phantasy life. On the other hand, only a few Lodha and none among the spirit-possessed men have shown a balance between creative activity and phantasy life. Both the groups have also shown rigidity on the average, though one-fourth of the Lodha subjects have not manifested this tendency. Moreover, the spirit-possessed men have also shown stereotypy on the average. However, in spite of these handicaps, they have maintained a good relation with reality.

On the affective side, only the Lodha subjects have shown on the average some amount of controlled emotional responsiveness towards the environment, whereas, none of the spirit-possessed men has shown this tendency. On the other hand, a little more than one-third of the Lodha have shown better control over emotional situation. It has already been stated that none of the spirit-possessed men has shown controlled emotionality. That does not mean that all of them have shown uncontrolled emotional tendency towards the environment. On the contrary, only 16.67% of the spirit-possessed men as against nearly half (45.45%) of the Lodha have manifested uncontrolled emotionality. The great majority of the spirit-possessed men (83.33%) have shown inhibition in the sense that they are unable to respond freely to the demands of the external reality as against only 9.09% of the Lodha, showing this tendency. On the other hand, 18.18% of the Lodha have shown controlled emotional responsiveness towards the social environment. So it may be said in short that the great majority of the spirit-possessed men are inhibited when dealing with the

emotional impact of the reality. On the other hand, nearly half of their counterparts have manifested uncontrolled emotional responsiveness. In such circumstances, it cannot be expected that they will show good meaningful object relationship, and this has been confirmed by the data which show that only one-third of the spirit-possessed men and less than one-half of the Lodha have manifested good object relationship.

The great majority and same percentage of the spirit-possessed men who have shown inhibition in dealing with external reality, have also shown inhibition in their inner life. On the other hand, a little less than half of the Lodha have shown this tendency. In other words, both the groups have shown poverty of imagination, which is more marked among the spirit-possessed men. They have got very few inner resources to be utilized in times of need, and only 18.18% of the Lodha as against none among the spirit-possessed men have manifested their ability to utilize these resources for their own benefit.

It may be said with regard to anxiety that only 27.27% of the Lodha have shown significant anxiety. On the other hand, in so far as over-cautiousness in emotional contact is concerned, the spirit-possessed men have shown this tendency on the average.

It also appears that the two groups belong to two different basic types. The majority of the *Byakra* appear to be coarcted, whereas, the majority of their counterparts appear to be extratensive.

Content responses appear to be differentiating factors in so far as these groups are concerned. Both the groups have shown interest in (H) responses but the difference lies in the frequency and nature of these responses, as for example, the big majority of the spirit-possessed men have shown interest in ghosts and spirits. On the other hand, only 45.45% of the Lodha have shown interest in deity and printed human figures. Moreover, the (H)% of the spirit-possessed men are markedly higher than those of the Lodha.

CONCLUSION

In bringing this discussion to a close, an attempt has been made here, in view of what have been said in the foregoing chapters, to differentiate the causative factors underlying the transformation of a Lodha into a spirit-possessed man.

It appears from the life history records of the spirit-possessed

men that all of them have developed weak ego though the causative factors are not the same in all the cases. Rakshit's weak ego appears to be due to frustrations caused by paternal surrogates, whereas, in case of Govinda, his weak ego was caused by maternal frustrations. In case of others, maternal care appears to be good in so far as this culture is concerned, yet each of them has developed a weak ego, which appears to be the natural outcome of frustrations caused by the employers or other paternal surrogates.

However, their weak ego developments have been compensated by substitutive gratifications which lie in their great desire to be wielders of great power (this finding has been corroborated by the Rorschach data) by assuming the role of spirit-possessed men who act as protectors as well as predictors of future events. But the question that naturally arises in this connection is that why compensatory tendencies have not taken other forms. There are many life histories other than those of the spirit-possessed men, which are also marked by weak ego developments. Only one of these life histories has not shown any compensatory tendency, whereas, the others like those of the spirit-possessed men have shown substitutive gratifications in other directions.

The dreams of Hari and Rakshit show their inclinations towards supernatural beings. The latter was also afraid of *Kharia bhut* as it might eat his penis. Supernatural sanction has also haunted him throughout his life. He was afraid of the red lady in his dream. He has no other alternative but to develop as a protective measure, an ego-ideal which leans to supernatural type. On the other hand, Hari has not only shown inclination to be a spirit-possessed men, in order to cure people from disease and spirit-possession, but his paternal type of ego-ideal has also been projected into supernaturals. The life histories of Mahendra, Govinda and Nagen are also marked by these tendencies. Moreover, Mahendra considered his father as a very powerful object, and as such, he has developed an ego-ideal which has been projected into supernatural, whereas, in case of Nagen, it may be added further in view of the Rorschach data that his (H)% has been found to be 85.71 as against 0 in H% responses, and this shows his interest in supernatural beings.

With regard to typical life histories, it may be said that out of the eight life histories, the records of Ramchandra, Kishta, Khudiram and Madhab are marked by weak ego, though parental care appears to be good. In case of Ramchandra and Kishta, it appears that they were frustrated either by the employers or

paternal surrogates, and hence, each of them has developed a weak ego. It may be said in case of Kishta that his weak ego-development has been partly compensated by his singing and drum-beating activities. On the other hand, Khudiram appears not to be affected, as is evident from his record, by any frustrating agent, though he has developed a weak ego which has been compensated by his singing and drum-beating activities. It has been observed in case of Madhab that his maternal care has not taken into account any disciplinary action. He has always been rewarded and not punished. As a result, he has become a spoilt child with a weak ego. His weak ego development has been partly compensated by his desire to be a social worker, a doctor, an agriculturist and even a spirit-possessed man. Unfortumately, he has not the requisite qualities to fulfil his desires.

These four persons under discussion have manifested weak ego developments like the spirit-possessed men, yet they are not such. Though Ramchandra has not shown any compensatory tendency, others have shown substitutive gratifications which have taken different forms unlike those of the spirit-possessed men. Madhab has shown inclination to be a spirit-possessed man like most of the spirit-possessed men, but he could not be initiated as such, because trance condition could not be induced in him. So it appears that inclination to be a spirit-possessed man is not the deciding factor to make one a spirit-possessed man. It has already been observed that besides inclination, the ego-ideals of most of the spirit-possessed men unlike Ramchandra and other typical persons lean to supernatural type. *So it appears that ego-ideal in association with inclination acts as a deciding factor in successful initiation as a spirit-possessed man.*

It appears from the remaining four typical life histories that Ramhari, Nitai and Haguri have received good attention from the parents as well as from the employers. They have not manifested weak ego-developments, and their ego-ideals appears to lean towards paternal or employer type. On the other hand, Mangal has been subjected to maternal frustrations, and as a result, he has not only developed low self-esteem but also considered his mother as a exploiter.

It may be said in view of Rorschach signs and patterns that the majority of the spirit-possessed men have shown inhibitory tendencies in their inner life as well as in their dealings with the external world. In spite of these tendencies, they have shown more or less good relation with the reality which appears to be the only factor, helping them in their struggle for existence.

They have also shown overriding ambition in the absence of creative potentiality and this finding is more marked among the spirit-possessed men. Moreover, most of the spirit-possessed men have also shown inclination towards supernatural beings, and both these findings have been corroborated by the life history data.

In other words, marked overriding ambition in association with inclination towards supernatural beings among the spirit-possessed men, has compelled them to take recourse to a compensatory tendency, that is, to be wielders of great power by becoming spirit-possessed men.

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